DANIEL WILDENSTEIN

Gauguin

A Savage in the Making
Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings
(1873-1888)

Skira

Wildenstein Institute

A century after the death of Paul Gauguin, our knowledge of his life and work has made huge strides.

The present work covers the youth and early maturity of this pioneering artist and attempts a summation. It also offers a complete catalogue of the paintings, in the process thoroughly updating the original Wildenstein catalogue of 1964. These first two volumes take the reader through to the end of 1888, a year of profound upheaval in French painting. That was the year in which Gauguin and his friends, by a collaborative effort, arrived at Synthetism, and, by rejecting representation in depth, freed Western painting of laws that had governed it since the Renaissance.

But Synthetism was also a form of primitivism. The society in which Gauguin lived was – already – a technical and materialist one, which contained the seeds of all that the 20th century became. Gauguin was one of the first to seek, in reaction to this civilisation, a form of inspiration deriving from the timeless origins of humanity.

Although these two volumes are the product of rigorous research, they are studded with illustrations and are by no means intended for specialists alone. Commentary on each work offers a step-by-step analysis of Gauguin's artistic development, while reconstructing the artist's experience and the aesthetic and socio-cultural issues of his times.

The lively detail of the chronology describes the events of Gauguin's life, along with those of his friends; thanks to extensive research in unpublished archives, it also casts completely new light on Gauguin's ancestry.

The introduction offers an analysis of the period and an in-depth portrait of this great artist.

This exhaustive work is carefully designed so that each entry and inset can be read in isolation, though a system of cross-referencing ensures the continuity of the work and restores the overall trajectory of Gauguin's development.

Paul Gauguin
(1848-1903)

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A Savage in the Making

Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings (1873-1888)

Volume I

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First published in Italy in 2002 by
Skira Editore S.p.A.
Palazzo Casati Stampa
via Torino 61
20123 Milano
Italy

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Printed and bound in Italy. First edition

ISBN 88-8491-137-0

Distributed in North America and Latin America by Rizzoli International Publications, Inc. through St. Martin's Press, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.
Distributed elsewhere in the world by Thames and Hudson Ltd., 181a High Holborn, London WC1V 7QX, United Kingdom.

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Acknowledgements

Among the many who have contributed to this work, we should like, first and foremost, to cite the late Douglas Cooper, who brought all his immense erudition to the task.

We should also like to thank:
Museums in general, and in particular the Musée de Pont-Aven, where Mme Catherine Puget welcomed us into the fascinating Centre de documentation that she has established there; the Papeete Museum and the Musée d'Orsay, Paris;
Libraries, and the various public archives - registry offices, cadastre, trade registers, court records, maritime and meteorological archives – that allowed us to consult their documents. We are especially grateful to Mme Vincent, of the Archives municipales d'Orléans; Mlle Dugrillon, of the Archives départementales du Loiret; Mme Magnol-Malhache, of the Archives départementales des Hauts-de-Seine, and the Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, for their invaluable assistance;
Foundations and private museums, churches, autograph sellers, international galleries (in particular, MM. Durand-Ruel and Bernheim-Jeune), that opened their archives to us;
Photographic agencies: Roger-Viollet and Kharbine Tapabor, and our photographer, Fabrice Gousset;
All those, scholars and others, who by their superior knowledge of certain subjects have generously aided and advised us, in particular:
M. Pierre Lemattre, Professeur at the École nationale supérieur d'Horticulture, for botanical identifications;
M. and Mme Jan and Hélène Lühl, for information concerning Japanese prints;
Maurice Malingue, who presented us with reproductions of family photographs;
M. Bertrand Quéinec, eminent expert on Pont-Aven,
the late John Rewald, who allowed us to consult his personal archives;
M. François Renault, for assistance in identifying ports;
M. Delgove for his research in the Archives départementales de l'Eure.

Also:
The Altarriba-Recchi family,
M. Bernard Batailler,
Lt.-Col. Benoît, of the Service historique de l'Armée de terre,
Mme Denise Bernard-Folliot,
M. et Mme Olivier Bertrand,
Mme Marie-Thérèse Bobot, of the Musée Cernuschi, Paris,
Mme Janet F. Briner,
Mme Géraldine Cerf de Dudzeele,
Mr B.F. Cook of the British Museum,
Mme Nicole Cruz-Altounian,
Mme Maïotte Dauphite, Conservateur at the Musée Gauguin,
Le Carbet (Martinique),
M. Dominique Dussol,
Mme Françoise Gatouillat,
Mme Jill-Elise Grossvogel,
Mme Marlo Johnston,
M. Francis Joubert,
Mme Kamitsis, of the Musée de la Mode et du Textile, Paris,
M. Charles-Guy Le Paul,
M. Philippe Le Stum, of the Musée de Quimper,
Jacques Le Tessier,
M. Pierre Le Thoër,
M. Sten Madsen,
M. Malmanger, of the Nationalgalleriet, Oslo,
Mr Chris Miller,
M. Alain Motte,
Mmes Danièle and Sophie Nicolaïevitch,
Colonel R. Noullens, of the Musée de l'Armée, Paris,
Mme Nina Os,
M. Philippe Prévot,
Mme Alexandra Quale,
M. Xavier Renard,
the Service Maritime de navigation de la Gironde,
Mme Shimizu, of the Musée Guimet, Paris,
M. Tan Ho,
M. Christian Thomas,
Mme Denise Viennet,
the Sociétés d'histoire locale,
the private collectors who have supplied us with photographs and information,
the librarians and *documentalistes* of the Wildenstein Institute who took part in this work, in particular Fabienne Charpin-Schaff, our principal librarian, and Sibylle Bertrand, for iconographic documentation.

Foreword

Since the appearance of Georges Wildenstein's catalogue of Gauguin's work in 1964, knowledge of Gauguin's life and work has made huge strides, and important advances have been made in the literature.

Our original intention was merely to bring the catalogue up to date, but today we have before us an in-depth study that follows Gauguin's development step-by-step in its interaction with the times in which he lived.

It covers the period from the artist's earliest efforts to the end of a highly significant year, 1888. Gauguin, inveterate explorer that he was, had by then attained maturity, and in a collaborative effort, he and others elaborated a new way of painting, discarding many of the fundamental laws that had governed the art of the previous few centuries, and paving the way for the developments of the twentieth century.

The INTRODUCTION to this catalogue offers an appraisal of Gauguin's trajectory and attempts a portrait of this deeply reflective and profoundly audacious man.

The biographical aspect of the present work is set out in the CHRONOLOGY. It records the known events of Gauguin's life and the way in which he reacted to them. In parallel with Gauguin's life we have recorded the lives of those who were most important to him. Moreover, the contemporary context is suggested by reference to significant events in cultural, political and social history.

In the CHRONOLOGY, the reader will also find important and previously unpublished research on Gauguin's genealogy.

The biographical context is also evoked relative to individual works whenever it seems relevant. Thus, throughout the CATALOGUE, there are insets on certain personalities whom Gauguin encountered *en route*, close friends and less significant colleagues; not so much those who, like Van Gogh or Bernard, have already been extensively studied, but figures about whom little or nothing was previously known, such as Ingeborg Thaulow, Madeleine Bernard and the promiscuous Breton woman portrayed in *293*.

Models and dedicatees of the paintings are described in the commentaries; events or elements indirectly concerned with or subsequent to a work are dealt with in insets. The *Provenance* also provides outline information about certain collectors.

In the CATALOGUE, the reader will find a step-by-step analysis of the aesthetic and interpretative aspects of the *œuvre* as these relate to the issues of Gauguin's own period. This perspective is indispensable. The period under review ends with the year 1888, when the cultural and artistic landscape in which Gauguin worked was visibly changing. It was a year of transformation: new theories of art, new forms of thought reflecting the accelerating development of contemporary society, new friends and acquaintances, and new subjects. Many in-depth studies have appeared over the last forty years, and it seemed time for a summation.

It is, however, Gauguin's own declarations that have done most to orient and stimulate our thoughts: 'art is an abstraction'; 'absolutely Japanese [picture] by a savage from Peru'; 'symbolic path'; 'rising towards God'. It was scarcely

possible to quote these remarks without seeking to define their significance, and indeed their accuracy, especially since terms like 'abstract' and 'symbolic' did not always have the meanings they do now. Such enquiry seemed unavoidable, given that these thoughts played a part in a major disruption of artistic practice; the system of representation that they supplanted had, after all, prevailed since the Renaissance. Moreover, they stood at the heart of a rich and intense debate, a common construction to which each made essential contributions; and Bernard's claims concerning the paternity of Synthetism have generated controversy ever since.

Among the works that have received the most extensive commentary are the earliest Symbolist paintings. Laden with thought, these pictures began to appear in 1888. Their messages are, by Gauguin's own avouchment, largely concealed: 'Too bad for those who can't read them; we mustn't explain'. After giving an account of some – though by no means all – of the interpretations that these paintings have elicited, we offer our own perspective on Gauguin's intentions in *The Vision of the Sermon (308)*, the self-portrait *Les Misérables (309)*, *Fruit (312)* and *Human Misery (317)*.

The aesthetic notions that exercised Gauguin and his colleagues are discussed in relation to the paintings where Gauguin himself refers to them or where there are clear signs of their having been applied. Sometimes we have merely drawn attention to a detail, where this seems revelatory and marks a step in his development. Longer disquisitions are required when Gauguin reaches a significant new stage. Thus we have tried to define the emergence of new tendencies (Synthetism, primitivism, theories of colour) and Gauguin's share in these. More diverse and fragmentary aspects of his work have also received attention: sources of inspiration (Oriental carpets, *imagerie*); effects or stylistic devices (distortions, complementary colours); personal experiments (dynamic surface-effects); group proclivities (vertical tree-trunks, stooping figures) and private conventions (bird motifs, pointed ears); the significance of particular elements (the representation of printed matter or works of art); social trends reacting with cultural tendencies ('the modern world'); systems of thought (the notions of 'savage' or 'primitive', the role of the artist); working methods (repeats, compositions, vocabulary); and genres and techniques (decorative painting, frames, materials).

The examples are too various to enumerate, but a THEMATIC INDEX with headings as concrete as 'mandolin' and as theoretical as 'abstraction' will help to orient the reader.

Attached to individual paintings, these are self-contained studies that can be read in isolation, but a system of cross-referencing allows the links between these fragments to be re-established and restores continuity.

Such studies are sometimes incorporated into a particular commentary but are presented as *insets* if, though they enrich the context of a work, the information they contain does not directly concern that work or bears on a whole series of works.

* * *

Some practical information about the CATALOGUE.

It lists the paintings. These are on various media: in addition to canvas and panel, the reader will find two *tambourins* with decorated drumheads (*147* and *240*) and a little panel with integral sculpted frame (*155*).

This first part of the catalogue, in two volumes, comprises 330 numbers. To the 321 known works are added nine UNKNOWN WORKS, whose existence seemed to us sufficiently well attested. These lost works have been inserted at their likeliest date of execution; a list can be found in the ANNEXES.

In other cases, the testimony that seemingly relates to unknown works has appeared to us insufficient proof of their existence. Sometimes a work is mentioned only once, and we cannot be sure that it has not been painted over or whether it was ever finished. In other cases, the reference is not so precise as to exclude other identifications. Such references have simply been cited and discussed in the entries for known works, where these present analogies with supposed unknown works exist; a list of the latter, too, can be found in the ANNEX.

Works that are difficult to place have been inserted in the most probable or convenient year and accompanied by a general suggestion on their possible date.

Doubts have very occasionally arisen about the year specified in certain dated signatures. Since no certain conclusions emerged in these cases, all such works have been catalogued in the year indicated by Gauguin, and the other possible dates noted in the commentary.

Within any given year, works have been ***grouped by genre*** (still life, portrait, landscape, compositions with figures). And if that year is divided into stays in different locations, the classification is maintained within these subdivisions, though not always in the same order.

However, in certain chapters, this system has been abandoned. There were periods for which a chronological presentation seemed self-evidently necessary. One example of this is Gauguin's Danish sojourn of 1885, where the small number of paintings makes the passage of the seasons peculiarly visible: winter turns to spring. Another is Gauguin's stay in Arles, during which surviving correspondence gives us a fairly accurate idea of the order in which the works – again relatively few – were painted.

But the most exceptional case, in two respects, is that of Gauguin's 1888 Breton campaign. Using Émile Bernard's arrival in Pont-Aven as our watershed, we have divided this into two phases: the first of continued Impressionism, the second of major stylistic disruption. Moreover, in the second phase, it seemed of much greater interest to attempt a chronological classification, in the hope that we might thus retrace, step-by-step, the advances that led Gauguin from Impressionism to a new form of painting.

SIGNATURES that seemed of uncertain authenticity are *preceded* by a question mark.
Those whose wording is difficult to read are *followed* by a question mark.

Under the EXHIBITIONS heading are cited all those that took place up to and including the year of Gauguin's death.

Of those that took place after that date, we have cited only solo shows, or thematic exhibitions focusing on particular aspects of the *œuvre*: the school of Pont-Aven, Post-Impressionism, Nabis, Cloisonism, and so on. The presence of works in such exhibitions is systematically recorded. All other post-1904 exhibitions are automatically omitted with two exceptions. The first of these concerns exhibitions that allowed us to locate a work about which we had no other information (for example, *Abandoned Garden, Rouen, 118* was known only by an old photograph until it was exhibited in a Parisian gallery). The second concerns certain European exhibitions prior to the epoch of the First World War; here our concern was not to waste the documentation garnered by Douglas Cooper and Peter Kropmanns respectively.

Where no exhibition title is given, the exhibition was a solo one.

DOCUMENTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY prior to 1904 are systematically cited in relation to the works; but, given the abundance of more recent publications, a comprehensive list was clearly ruled out.

Obviously, priority had to be given to original sources: correspondence, which is frequently cited in the catalogue entries; Gauguin's sketchbooks and writings; the archives of the dealers (Durand-Ruel, Bernheim-Jeune, Druet, Boussod et Valadon, Thannhauser, and Vollard; documents from Daniel de Monfreid's archives (published by J. Loize); contemporary reviews or writings; and correspondence and writings published or unpublished by Gauguin's friends. To these must be added registry office research, the study of the cadastre, and the topographical, botanical, meteorological and local historical information that has helped to identify particular motifs.

The dating of correspondence in this period has in many cases been firmly established by the work of excellent scholars such as Victor Merlhès, Ronald Pickvance, Jan Hulsker and Janine Bailly-Herzberg. Their conclusions have generally been respected; the few modifications that we have been able to suggest are so minor that we have generally not deemed it necessary to justify them.

As regards Scandinavian research, we refer to published works, here and there pointing out areas that have remained obscure, in the hope of stimulating further research.

In the bibliography, we have, for the period after 1903, naturally given priority to works that record first-hand accounts, in particular those of Rotonchamp, Morice,

Chassé and Malingue; the indispensable works of V. Merlhès, with their magisterial documentation, the impressive compilation in the catalogue of the Franco-American exhibition of 1988-89, and the many studies by Merete Bodelsen. But we also felt the need to include analyses that explore a particular point, throwing new light on certain aspects of the *œuvre* or enriching its context. Among these are the elucidation of the hidden Symbolism in Gauguin's work begun by Henri Dorra, and developed by Wayne Andersen and Vojtech Jirat-Wasiutynski; or the illuminating account of its religious aspects by Ziva Amishai-Maisels, whose merits as a Gauguin exegete have been insufficiently acknowledged. And we could hardly omit the work of Pickvance and Hulsker on Van Gogh, the *Bernard* exhibition of 1990, the studies of Schuffenecker by René Porro and Jill-Elyse Grossvogel, and those of the Pont-Aven school by Charles-Guy Le Paul, Denise Delouche, André Cariou and many others; Kropmanns' documentation of the way in which modern painting made its way into Germany; the many studies on the emergence of *japonisme* in the second half of the century, and Bogomila Welsh-Ovcharov's work on the birth of Cloisonism.

For all their interest, these works have not been systematically cited whenever they mention a painting. They are mentioned only when they seemed to contribute some essential element: previously unknown documents and research, or a particularly informative insight into some aspect of a work.

It goes without saying that our decision to cite a work in *Documents and Bibliography* must in many cases have been, in some measure, subjective or arbitrary; it must often have reflected the state of our own knowledge or our own thoughts (we evidently tended not to dwell on notions with which we were already familiar, however excellent the text that presented them). We repeat, however, that our primary objective has been to go back to the sources; nor have we sought to establish a hierarchy of Gauguin exegetes.

With one exception (a still life lost from the Bremen museum), we have not cited museum catalogues, which added nothing to the information that these institutions had, in general, directly supplied. Catalogues of private collections are often of more difficult access, and have therefore been cited.

The PROVENANCE mentions *art dealers* only up to 1939, the date of Vollard's death. After that date, they have been cited only where the history of a work was unknown to us until its appearance in the gallery.

Transactions are accompanied by a year if their date is known. Where this degree of exactitude has proved impossible, the abbreviation 'c.' has been used. Thus 'c. 1900' indicates that the work was in the hands of a given owner by 1900, whatever the date of its acquisition.

Finally, each period or stay in a particular place is preceded by an *Introduction* that points out its most significant aspects.

Some six months have elapsed since this work appeared in French, and the reader should not be surprised by certain recent reflections and discoveries that have been allowed to find their place in this edition.

Introduction

'By Indirections Find Directions Out'

Gauguin was a late starter, and long remained an amateur. He turned professional in 1883, and from the ten or so years before that, we know of some one hundred paintings; by the same age, Monet had painted nearly four hundred.
Thereafter, Gauguin showed himself capable of sustained production, often approaching a rate of one and a half paintings a week; this was sometimes slowed by depression or illness (for example, in the early months of 1888) and very occasionally accelerated, for example, by working alongside Van Gogh in Arles.
Perseverance did not imply repetition. With the possible exception of his Dieppe campaign, when, abruptly removed from family life, he threw himself heart and soul into painting, Gauguin eschewed series of similar paintings, judiciously selecting both his subject and compositional approach. The result is a remarkably diverse corpus, one of the many ways in which Gauguin's secondary temperament found expression[1].

❑ Masters and allies

We know of no teacher for these first years. The painter Schuffenecker, who knew Gauguin from very early on, describes him as 'making his first attempts at painting without assistance[2]'. He was extremely gifted – from as early as 1873, certain of the little studies are clear proof of this – and had the poise of a man wholly at one with himself. Gauguin was one of those who observe and judge for themselves, and do not require anyone to plot the landscape for them. He may even have felt that a teacher would hold him back: a while later, he inveighed against 'those moulds out of which a man comes at 20 trained up to think like everyone else[3]'. When there was talk of his daughter learning to draw, his advice was '…but no teacher. If she likes it, she should copy what's in the house and, on that basis, make sketches from nature[4]'.

So no teachers – but masters, yes: masters whose works were an education in themselves. Gauguin never stopped praising the masters whom he admired, and they left their trace in his work. All the same, such sensitivity to tradition could only ever be a first stage. He had dissent in his blood; it was, as we shall see, his birthright never to follow the highroad. He had no sooner mastered a precept than he set out to scotch it, and he was in tireless quest of new ways of painting. By the end of the period covered by this volume, he had, with his friends, discovered a coherent system widely divergent from the prevailing orthodoxy.

Experiment ■ When Gauguin began to paint, Impressionism was in the full flush of youth. An inquiring mind like his could hardly remain unaffected, but he first had an apprenticeship to serve. As though retracing the road to Impressionism, he turned toward its precursors, and Corot in particular, adopting as though to the manner born a style well suited to the gentleness and harmony concealed in his own character. But from 1873 on, alongside works inspired by Corot, Gauguin was attempting much more modern paintings, such as *Working the Land (4)*; he looked toward the Barbizon school and soon after toward Boudin and Jongkind, transparently seeking a more animated surface for his paintings.

He began to work on Impressionist technique only in 1879, under the tutelage of Pissarro, his first real teacher and the

only one whose guidance he accepted. He seems to have had no difficulty assimilating the technique, as we can see from the two perfectly accomplished snow-studies painted late that year. Though a need for change was felt as early as the 1880s, Impressionism was still the avant-garde, and Gauguin was proud to be part of it. Impressionism remained the basis of his technique until 1888; and though he constantly tried to modify it, he constantly reverted to it.

For Gauguin's desire to escape Pissarro's teachings began while he was still painting at his master's side. Among all the experiments then being conducted, those of Cézanne, whom he met in 1881, most interested Gauguin. There the picture surface was acquiring a life of its own. Its subtle relation to Cézanne's distortions of space and form inspired Gauguin, who attempted to impart a new dynamism to his own experiments in this area: skewing space in *Quarries (85)* and making intermittent play with opaque surfaces traversed by undertows of flux that increasingly hold the eye.

Gestation ■ Till 1884-1885, the questing nature of Gauguin's work is clear, but this 'programme' of research did not lead to a fundamentally new way of painting. It left certain traces – in particular in the orientation and freedom of his brushwork – but was ultimately absorbed into what was still an Impressionist system.

Not that he abandoned all cutting-edge experiment. But he thought twice before assimilating and took only what suited him. He toyed with Neo-Impressionism in 1886 but abandoned it almost immediately, its only effect being a slight and temporary reduction in the scale of his brushstrokes. In the company he kept, the subject of Japanese prints was on every tongue, but their effect on him was slow and gradual. In 1887, he looked to them only for spatial effects of a kind long since practised by Degas and the Impressionists. Not until the summer of 1888 did Japanese prints offer the germ of a more radical renewal (see *introduction* to the Martinique campaign, and *Still Life with Horse's Head, 216*, *Still Life with Japanese Prints, 260*, and *Wrestlers, 298*, inset).

Gauguin's development was, in fact, slow and inward. In 1886, he showed his entourage a theoretical paper suggesting an intuitive, harmonious, meditative way of painting, inspired by the Orient and doubtless fairly static. But this remained somewhat inarticulate (see *Clovis, 208*, inset).

His underlying tastes gradually came to the fore, notably his liking for rather monumental representations of the human figure. The influence of Degas and Puvis de Chavanne emerged strongly in 1886, and is part of the weave of his own *œuvre*: Degas, the aristocrat, with whose fierce independence and elegant veracity he felt the most profound affinities, and Puvis, less aggressive but no less independent, who afforded Gauguin an example of the timeless and the meditative.
A tendency to enhance the mass of his compositional elements and delineate them with a firm, supple outline of increasingly shapely kind – this is particularly evident in his figure paintings – also emerged primarily in 1886. During the 1880s, similar developments were visible in other Impressionists, in Monet, Pissarro, and Renoir: a movement toward greater and more 'decorative' simplification of composition, clearer outlines and greater monumentality in figures.

The shadow of the future ■ This period of gestation was interrupted by two sudden breakthroughs. The first, in 1886, was the portrait of Clovis. Its 'primitive aspect' perhaps owes something to Gauguin's Cézannian experiments, but it displays a notably individual quality, and its primitivism remained unparalleled until *Wrestlers (298)* of 1887. The second breakthrough was his voyage to Martinique in 1887; the decorative fragmentation of the picture surface in Gauguin's Martinican paintings (perhaps inspired by Oriental carpets?) is quite unexpected, and was no less unexpectedly abandoned on his return to France.
These innovations seem almost entirely personal. They made a definitive reappearance when the new style of Synthetism was collectively forged during the summer of 1888, perhaps suggesting that Gauguin absorbed from his colleagues only what already lay latent within him.

Convergence ■ Synthetism came into being through a process of collaboration, contribution and assimilation. But Gauguin was not so very quick to take up what he saw. He had known Cloisonism's simplified forms and areas of flat colour (*aplats*) since late 1887, but it was some time before they found their way into his own work. These innovations were anything but a development of Impressionism. Inspired by prints and quotidian imagery, they reflected the growing interest of the younger generation in popular and extra-European arts at a time when many felt a confused need for

radically different forms. But Gauguin long retained his attachment to both the Impressionist rendering of atmosphere and the Impressionist brushstroke, and though he had a strong sense of impending social crisis (as the subject of *Wrestlers, 298*, shows), in July 1888 he was still searching in other directions (as his treatment of *Wrestlers* shows).
It was only in August that Bernard won him over to the cause of the *aplat*. Gauguin had, in the interim, undergone a spiritual reawakening (described in the entry to the *Vision, 308*): it is as if he could not make this system of representation his own till he had discovered a function for it, that of communicating his thoughts.

Everything seems suddenly to have fallen into place in that summer of 1888, when these various experiments coalesced, in an atmosphere of community shared not only with Bernard and the little Pont-Aven group, but also – at the very deepest level – with Van Gogh.
With Van Gogh, there was much for Gauguin to exchange. He was able to impart to Van Gogh his powerful avant-garde purposiveness, his idealism, his native hauteur, and the path taken by his own reflections (in letters which have not, for the most part, survived); then, while in Arles, the Synthetist discoveries produced by collective research in Pont-Aven. But perhaps the true powerhouse of the two was Vincent. This was principally because of his intense spiritual charisma, by which Gauguin was quite shaken. Another factor was Van Gogh's passion for Japanese prints, in which the Dutchman saw the model of a simplified and vividly coloured aesthetic. And finally, there were Van Gogh's thoughts about colour, to which Gauguin instantly reacted. Before even meeting the man, when Van Gogh's ideas about colour were known to him only by letter, Gauguin attempted to apply them himself (see the still life *Fête Gloanec, 301*, inset on complementaries, and the self-portrait *Les Misérables, 309*, inset on colour), and when he finally arrived in Arles and was confronted with Van Gogh's pictures, they led him to 'a law of derived colours' that he continued to observe till the end of his artistic life (see *Blue Trees, 319*, inset). Gauguin acknowledged all this when Van Gogh died: 'We owed a great deal to Vincent's influence[5]'.

❑ Three tendencies meet

These disparate but ultimately very concordant efforts were channelled into solving a threefold contemporary dilemma.

Free form ■ First and foremost was the challenge of painting. For several decades, the need had been felt to focus attention on the means specific to painting: on the physical surface of the painting and the materiality of the pigments (perhaps because of rivalry from photography), but also on the abstract formal elements (form, line and colour) that constitute that surface. A new awareness of the way in which these elements resonated within the soul placed meaning within reach, and justified an increasingly free manipulation of them. There was something quite generalised about this need, inasmuch as literature had already undergone a similar process (see *Fruit, 312*, inset on formal symbolism). The object was no longer to represent the external world but its reflection in the inner world of the artist. This development was one of the broadest movements of the second half of the nineteenth century; the most inward of its branches ultimately led to twentieth century abstraction. Synthetism took on board this latent tendency, using it to fuel its 'abstraction' (which remained figurative) and its subjective distortions (see *Vision, 308*, inset on 'Synthetism').

A return to distant origins ■ At this point, we encounter a second aspect of the sensibility of the time. It too tended to reject realist representations of the world, instead imparting to its transpositions a naïve and archaic savour. This was the primitivist current. It was an essential ingredient in Synthetism, which was, in its turn, one of primitivism's first truly successful forms.

Though Synthetism provided it with a form of aesthetic expression, primitivism was certainly in large part the product of a social phenomenon, and could only have come into existence in a context like that of the second half of the nineteenth century, when a technically-minded *bourgeois* civilisation was rampant (and, as the Goncourt brothers prophetically remarked in 1867, undergoing an inexorable process of 'Americanisation'). Ruled by a positivist mentality, weighed down by materialism and sapped by the collapse of ancient ideals, this society impoverished the instinctive and spiritual sides of humanity; certain forms of decadence inevitably resulted (see *Wrestlers, 298*, inset on 'The Modern World', *Vision, 308*, inset on 'Positivism and the Ideal', and *Little Dogs, 311*, inset on 'Brutal painting'). In these respects, Western civilisation has not greatly changed; even today manifestations smacking of decadence alternate with vigorous primitivist reactions whose principal aim is a return to greater

instinct, intuition and existential underpinning. Gauguin was one of the first to propound and attempt such a return.
Now realist representation, and in particular three-dimensional representation by means of classical perspective, was a direct product of this rationalist system, while Naturalism no doubt reflected the positivism of the times; rejecting the one implied contesting the other.
At a time when Europe was gradually opening up to the rest of the world through its colonial adventures and universal exhibitions, alternative systems were less unthinkable; glimpses of other approaches to life and art had been vouchsafed (see *Vision, 308*, inset on 'Other Civilisations').
Taking its inspiration from arts remote in time and place, Synthetism made the most of these new openings. But its need for vitality was so imperative that it was also able, from the start, to adopt an instinctive naivety of attitude drawn directly from childhood (cf. *Little Dogs, 311*).
No doubt because of his lineage, in which foreignness and aristocracy combined (a point to which we shall return), Gauguin was one of those who most decisively rejected the *bourgeois* world, and among the first to seek other forms of existence. And though Bernard and Anquetin anticipated him in flat, vividly coloured, brutally simplified modes of painting, Gauguin was the first to make the connection between these primitivising forms and the spirit by which they were justified. Synthetism therefore crystallised primarily around Gauguin.

Profundity ■ The need for regeneration now encountered a further movement that shared certain of its profound aspirations, including its rejection of realist finiteness in art. This was Symbolism. Their interests were not identical: primitivism was essentially in quest of authenticity, while Symbolism sought inner depth rather than outer truth. Symbolism's primary concern was the soul, but it explored a very wide field and therefore encompassed every aspect of human existence: mind, sensibility, body and unconscious. The soul, less divine than spirit, seeks to emulate the spirit's elevation; weighed down by the earth on which it lives, it reflects the sky, like stained glass that allows only the light filtered through its mineral substance to be seen; and it often suffers from its inability to attain to purity. Thus in Symbolism there is a fundamental aspiration toward the Ideal, combined with an acute consciousness of its non-fulfilment. In more optimist fashion, this aspiration also found place in primitivism, especially at the end of the nineteenth century (the twentieth century proved more existentialist); it directly influenced thematic choices (as opposed to their treatment), turning artists away from realist scenes toward subjects laden with sense.
In Gauguin above all, this idealism was decisive, and by the time of his spiritual awakening in the summer of 1888, it was entirely conscious. Several years before, he had been critical of painters depicting 'religious ecstasies with which they were unacquainted[6]'. Now he not only reflected on matters spiritual in *Vision (308)*, *Fruit (312)* and *Human Misery (317)*, but regularly returned to such subjects.
It had taken him a long time to adopt the formal proposals leading to Synthetism. But it is clear that, in 1888, he was whole-hearted in his sudden adoption of a formula that was, from the outset, personal. It might be described as bordering on Symbolism in the timeless aspect of its subjects, but it was also primitivist in its allusion to an earlier and original world from which regeneration might come. This was a direction to which his reflective nature spontaneously inclined. Even before the abrupt breakthrough of the summer of 1888, his nascent thoughts made flickering appearances in such pre-Symbolist works as *Two Women Bathing (241)* from 1887 or *Little Breton Bather (295)* from 1888, and subsequently in *Wrestlers (298)*. And very early, at a time when nothing more was required of the artist than to depict the ephemeral impressions left by the world, a personal desire had arisen sporadically and discretely in Gauguin to include certain meanings in his work, almost as though he were unaware of the fact, for example in the birds that appear in several pictures from the early 1880s (see *To Make a Bouquet, 62*, inset).
It is worth noting that inwardness was a feature of all three of the movements at whose intersection Synthetism crystallised in 1888; this is perhaps what ensures the coherence of the Synthetist formula. The crystallisation was of course a temporary one. Synthetism was still anchored in the nineteenth century in its attachment to figuration and a sometimes rather backward-looking symbolism (in Sérusier, for example). But in its primitivism and formal liberation, it held the future in its grasp.

❑ Indefatigable experimentation, Indomitable character

Gauguin's road to this point had not been a straight and narrow one. And if we examine his career in greater detail,

we discover contrasts still more extreme, at every instant surprising us by the sheer variety of manners and effects.

Constant oscillation ■ Such contrasts and such variety often reflect oscillation between the two competing poles of Gauguin's nature; that of harmony on the one hand, and of audacity, not to say downright aggression, on the other (this is a point to which we shall return).
An innate sense of nuance – the warmth and delicacy of his 'touch' – allowed Gauguin to acquire his technical skills almost effortlessly. From the outset, and in every period and every manner that he attempted (Impressionist and pre- or Post-Impressionist) he regularly produced works of simple and natural poetry and realism, and of relatively classical treatment. At the beginning of his various campaigns away from Paris, he generally returned to fairly classical brushwork, which he could handle without effort, and which left his mind free to 'take in the character of the place[7]'.
Gauguin often returned to this benign harmony, as if to a fountain of youth. But also from the outset – indeed in every style he ever attempted – he felt another need: to shake up proscribed methods, to manipulate the picture surface (leaving it by turns dynamic, scrubbed, intricately interwoven, sculpted, or – finally – flat); to throw his compositions out of kilter (leaving them, for example, loose, jagged, or clogged); and, slowly but surely, to warp and distort his line. Certain of his explorations verged on the 'ugly': muddy manner, dull tones, zones apparently ill-differentiated or ill-connected to the whole. He was interested in the most independent and iconoclastic figures, such as Cézanne and Bernard.
These contrasting manners alternate in quick succession. Thus the evident efforts to dynamicise the picture surface from 1876 on must be more or less contemporary with the gentle, static compositions which, around 1877-1878, seem to revert to the example of Corot. The intricate brushwork and stable compositions that Gauguin began learning from Pissarro as early as 1879 were soon joined by disordered, rather 'dirty' surfaces, such as those of *Flowers (80)* and *(81)*, and by compositions which, under the influence of Cézanne, showed little or no concern with balance. The agitation and opacity present in certain bouquets of 1884 (for example *Peonies, 145*) give way in 1885 to the stillness and transparency of still lifes such as *201*; later, the bizarre and dramatic *Washerwomen (325)* has as its neighbour *Mas (324)*, which, though, avant-garde in its colour, has an ambience of almost Impressionist simplicity. These are just a few examples of Gauguin's many oscillations between classicism and audacity.

Calculating the future ■ A notably secondary and profoundly libertarian temperament prescribed these carefully meditated and systematic incursions into foreign territory.
'My art', Gauguin tell us, '[is] more one of thought than of assured technique[8]'. And he was quite happy to depart from that technique when circumstances required. Thus, in 1888, he wrote: 'This year I've completely sacrificed execution [and] colour to style, because I wanted to force myself to do something other than what I know I can[9]'.
Gauguin sought extremes in quest of understanding: 'though I may be mistaken (in fact I probably am mistaken), something will always come out of it, it will always be a learning experience. When you experiment you often go awry, but you find out about yourself and about how far you can go, in short, you test your strength[10]'.
These experiments were not in themselves endpoints: 'I'm not looking for results, these are documents I'm putting aside for later[11]'. Patience was as much a feature of his thinking as audacity, and he always looked beyond the immediate present. Consequently, beneath the surface contrasts there is a vein of continuous development. One day, he felt, by connection with other experiments, the utility of these efforts would emerge. 'Every day a link in the chain[12]', that was his method.
His experiments were complementary in respect of another aspiration, that of putting his full capacities to the test from time to time in ambitious works carefully elaborated and matured (see *Breton Shepherdess, 233*, inset on compositions).

Gauguin's prospecting for technique was tireless. During his time in Rouen, for example, he used a succession of different kinds of brushwork. Or perhaps they did not succeed one another so much as alternate? In certain paintings from 1886, several different sorts of brushwork seem to coexist (see *Lollichon Field, 226* and *Breton Women Chatting, 237*). After the relatively coarse surfaces, attempted in Cézanne's wake during the early 1880s, come fine textures inspired by Seurat; the astonishingly light decorative textures of Gauguin's Martinican works are succeeded by the weighty deliberation of the winter of 1887-1888; in the first half of 1888, a stroll through various of the techniques he had previously used precedes the bold innovations of the summer.

And these procedures were not abandoned when the next experiment was begun; they remained part of Gauguin's resources, as he himself confirms. 'But you have a technique, they will say… – No, I don't. Or rather, I do have one, but it's a very roving, elastic technique, and depends on which side I got out of bed that morning; I apply it any way I like to express my thoughts[13]'. Behind all of these explorations, it is clear, was a relentless quest for freedom.

The cerebral aspects of Gauguin's research are sometimes more in evidence than the instinct by which it was also driven. Thus, in *Les Misérables (309)*, the sinister quality of the gaze is deliberately exaggerated in order to communicate an idea more forcefully, and bizarre effects are sometimes so arbitrarily introduced as to seem gratuitous (cf. *Near Arles, 323*, inset). Not infrequently, experiments are knowingly confined to a very small number of paintings: just two, for example, in his exploration of manner in *Watering Place (203)* and *Calf and Cow, Riverbank (209)*, or in the similar composition of the two Breton landscapes *229* and *231*; or again in works dominated by a specific effect, like the red seascapes *Wave (303)* and *Cow on the Porsac'h Cliffs (310)*. We also find Gauguin varying a single parameter within a common compositional framework, for example in the almost monochrome 'pair' formed by *Fruit (312)* and *Little Dogs (311)*. Having thus demonstrated his mastery of the procedure involved, Gauguin passed quickly on to different exercises. Like his revisions of motifs previously painted by Pissarro (see *Osny, Rue de Pontoise, Winter, 99*, inset), paintings repeated with a different treatment (see *Quarries, 86*, inset) seem also to have been exercises that Gauguin set himself.

With Gauguin, there is no linear development to seek; at any given moment, fracture, shearing and abrupt leaps into the unexpected are his trademark. So true is this, that his corpus includes what we might call 'erratics', experimental works (or sets of works) so atypical that one might well hesitate or simply refuse to believe them his, till some irrefutable proof establishes that they come from his hand.

❑ Fields of research

Among his many experiments, let us focus on some of those that reflect specific concerns.

Movement ■ Dynamism and instability clearly attracted Gauguin, and his experiments with them were among the first to leave a mark in his work. They long continued to do so. It is as if, from the outset, Gauguin often sought to 'personalize' the manners that he had most recently learned by 'setting them in motion'. Certainly, there can be no doubt of his intentions when, in 1876, painting two very similar bouquets (*34* and *35*), he set one of them on a background pervaded by flux. And in *China Asters (37*, q.v. – inset on 'Unstable Surfaces'*)* this flux effect is still more insistent.

Soon even little studies, like *Port de Javel I (29)* or *Country Church (49)*, display considerable animation throughout the picture surface: loose, heavily brushed in, and already rather 'coarse'. No doubt it was the influence of Cézanne that, after 1881, caused this flux to extend not merely across the surface but into the forms and even the depths of the painting – for example in the Pontoise *Quarries* of 1882 – sometimes toppling over into discord and instability.

This propensity must have been a powerful one. The primitivism of which Synthetism was a variety is generally associated with stasis. But as late as 1888, when Gauguin had just begun to explore Synthetism, we find in paintings such as *Fruit (312)*, *Autumn at Pont-Aven (313)*, and *Washerwomen (325)*, forms that are still inflected toward the dynamic and the disorganised.

Décor ■ Gauguin sometimes conducted his programmes of research by regular steps in relatively continuous fashion. An example of this is his precocious attempts to create 'abstract' decorative backgrounds. Their first appearance – presumably spontaneous and personal – is in certain still lifes of 1880. They tend toward a stable and Cézannian formula in 1884, and testify to a chain of thought that is in some respects parallel to that which later led Gauguin toward the decorative and evocative 'abstraction' of Synthetism (see the still lifes *61, 144* and *147*).

Light ■ Other concerns arise only episodically. Thus the interest Gauguin showed in light moving through space in a number of very likeable works of 1877-1878 recurs in certain very successful still lifes of 1885 and 1886. It should be noted that, in autumn 1888, Van Gogh and Gauguin were thinking of returning to the study of light (see introduction to the Arles campaign); however, the context for this study had meanwhile been modified by a new representation of space and a new way of treating colour.

Space ■ But the area of experiment in which one feels Gauguin was most resolute and had the greatest hope of achieving something really new was surely his manipulation of space and form. As early as 1881, in *Interior (76)*, space is subject to a strange process of flattening that seems to open up fault-lines. Avatars of this space seem to reappear in 1886 (see introduction to that year's stay in Pont-Aven). There are also spaces distorted by flux, torsion, breakage and tearing, in which the dynamic pressure cited above goes beyond the surface of the canvas to tug at its depths, as it does in the Cézannian works *Chou Quarries (85)* and *Street, Osny (106)*.

In works such as the Breton landscape *231* and *Breton Woman with Pitcher (267)*, there are also tactile spaces: moulded, stretched out, almost alive, they reflect the sculptor and potter in Gauguin, and are unique to him.

Other Gauguin spaces seem as though drawn toward their depths or liable to open downwards like a trapdoor (as in the astonishing portrait of *Clovis, 208*, *Breton Woman with Pitcher, 267*, and *Wrestlers, 298*). Sometimes this occurs under the influence of precipitous subsidence or a strange side-slipping; sometimes it is accompanied by forms that spontaneously widen toward their base.

These experiments were often very successful, though not all were taken as far as they could go. Nor was Gauguin alone in thus researching depth; such inquiries took a number of different directions in 1888 (see *Wrestlers, 298*, inset on 'Distorting Space'), before being, in Synthetism, sacrificed to the triumph of flat painting (see still life *Fête Gloanec, 301*, inset on 'Schematisation and Abstract Space').

Forms ■ But though Gauguin's interest in the three-dimensional faded somewhat, distortion remained on the agenda. It was too valuable an auxiliary of Poe's maxim – so close to Gauguin's heart that he soon after copied it out – 'There is no exquisite beauty without some strangeness in the proportions' (see *Near Arles, 323*, inset on 'The Strange')[14].

Gauguin's inclination to do things 'differently' was sometimes cerebral in origin. But often, too, it translated a need to liberate himself, as we shall see, from burdens felt deep within himself, obstacles that prevented him from attempting normal 'harmonies', and which the warping of form served to exorcise.

Who Was He? Where Did He Come From? What Did He Want?

A question arises: what motivated this tireless questing?

Our *Chronology* supplies the content and sources of extensive archival research, which has recently made it possible to define Gauguin's origins more closely. These findings have clarified the atavistic components of the man, though they cannot account for the subtle balance presiding over them in his character.

On one side, Gauguin combined peasant descent with a lineage of sober industry, on the other he came from a family of artists. His was a politicised background, resolutely republican and indeed sometimes party to the most avant-garde views of the time. In his veins, the solidity of Orleans mingled with the lofty manners of the Spanish aristocracy, the dreams of an adventurer's life, South American connections and perhaps an element of mysterious instinct inherited from some unknown Indian ancestor.

❑ Orleans

Earthy good sense ■ Gauguin was a true Gauguin. In his prudence, his solidity, his instinct for gradual construction and his liking for thought, he was indeed the scion of this circumspect Orleans line; perhaps too in certain peasant-like aspects of his physique.

His ancestors were veritable sons of the soil: in patois, the name 'Gauguin' means 'walnut grower'. The family no doubt originated from the hamlet Les Gauguins, which lies on the border of the Loiret and the Yonne départements, and must have 'gone up' to Orleans during the eighteenth century. There the family settled in the Saint-Marceau suburb, which long remained rural in character, and where many branches of the Gauguin family continued over several generations to ply the family trade of market-gardener[15].

Such, at all events, was the artist's great grandfather, Guillaume Gauguin, himself the grandson of a vine grower. A hard worker and prudent manager of his affairs, he seems to have multiplied fivefold the little capital (a little less than FF 10,000) that he and his wife possessed at the time of their marriage, buying up neighbouring houses, a quantity of little market-gardening smallholdings and plots of vine – and debt, in which they bought the outstanding capital and the entitlement to interest. The houses, often set in small plots

of land, were probably only modest premises, whose occupants lived, like most working class people outside Paris, on beaten earth floors. But these investments made Guillaume Gauguin a 'landowner' and far superior, even at this stage, to a simple peasant. When his son married in 1813, his wife and even her mother signed the marriage contract: they could both read and write, which was not an attribute found in the populace at large (sixty-seven years later, in 1880, despite the increasingly wide diffusion of literacy, nearly twenty-five per cent of women were unable to sign their own marriage contract)[16].

During the first half of the nineteenth century, this industrious branch of the family grew richer with every passing generation. They were wise enough to have only one or two children, and these were for the most part born to parents already in their thirties. Guillaume's family was a united one: the 'gardener' and his wife lived alongside their son. They evidently had a strong sense of their heritage and its management; late in life, Guillaume and his son made donations to both their children and grandchildren.

This son was also named Guillaume, and in his person, the Gauguins not only left the land, but made an important step up the social ladder. Broadening what was presumably a family business in wine and *primeurs* (fresh vegetables and fruit), this second Guillaume became a grocer, and, like his father, managed his affairs very successfully, since by his death the Gauguins may be said to have multiplied their assets tenfold over two generations.

But the grocer no longer invested his profits in houses and agricultural land. In the first part of the nineteenth century, the network of banks in France was still very underdeveloped, and though Orleans had, during the 1830s, founded a provincial bank that could assist the foundation of enterprises, there was quite insufficient credit to meet demand, and money-lending was therefore often practised by individuals. Seeing that his money could bring in up to 5% interest, Guillaume began, in the late 1820s, to lend money to other inhabitants of Orleans, and to buy up debt. (Even his son Isidore, to whom he advanced FF 1,000, had to pay the standard 5% rate.) Moreover, this Guillaume also ventured into more modern investments, such as railway shares, though he prudently limited his exposure in this sector to FF 5,000. Houses and land ultimately constituted only around a third of the inheritance that his descendants received; this was below average in a country still predominantly land-owning, where, in 1850, real estate accounted for 58% of assets handed on to the next generation[17].

Towards the end of his life, thanks to the interest on his loans and the product of his rent roll, Guillaume had acquired a modest income of perhaps some FF 2,500 a year, equivalent to the lower end of the *petite bourgeoisie* of retail or craft – but in his case it was unearned. So Guillaume the grocer was, after his retirement at around sixty, the first of this branch of the Gauguins to live on his income, like a 'gentleman'.

Social mobility under Louis-Philippe was far more restricted than during the Second Empire or the Third Republic. But a narrow band of *petits bourgeois* nevertheless contrived, by acquiring a modicum of capital, to break away from their very recent working-class origins; though these people were much looked down on, they were a breeding ground for social climbers. Enriched, as Guizot recommended, by hard work and savings, the Gauguins seem entirely representative of this class.

The crowning glory of their social rise was the family's move to a more handsome and better situated house, the grocer's only real-estate purchase. The inventory made at Guillaume's death offers us a tour of this house[18] which stood on the banks of the Loire at Quai Neuf Tudelle. A few years of Paul Gauguin's childhood were spent there, and his memories of it are recorded in *Avant et après* (see *Portrait of Isidore Gauguin, 156*).

Life at Quai Neuf Tudelle was by no means luxurious. The furniture lacked either decoration or varnish, and was made of walnut rather than mahogany, though the presence of a few desks and marble-topped chests of drawers savours rather of the *bourgeois*, since the latter replaced the more rustic trunk. The cutlery was all iron or tinplate, and there was very little silver, what little there was having been inherited by Guillaume's wife and not been added to. No great effort was made to create an elegant interior: we note a copper clock, a few engravings and some mirrors with gilded frames. The curtains were made of cotton, and there were no carpets, perhaps just polished boards. But though meals were taken in the rustic kitchen, there was a drawing room, with windows looking out over the Loire, and a liqueur stand awaited the fortunate guest: this was a *bourgeois* household.

Did Guillaume continue to make his own wine? The only part of his holdings not rented out was a house with vineyard that he had inherited from his parents at Rue des Montées (now under the parc des Expositions). At Guillaume's death,

a barrel was inventoried with 125 litres of the latest vintage. Also recorded in this inventory was a complete edition of Voltaire, and Dupuis' *L'Origine de tous les cultes*, a scientific work from the Revolutionary period that for some considerable time did much to undermine religious belief. We see that this upwardly mobile grocer was not without culture and believed in republican progress.

Reflective, self-reliant, sensitive but clear of purpose, Guillaume seems to have been a modest man, both enterprising and persevering. He took on the role of patriarch in the full sense of the word. The entire family gathered around him. His father lived in a neighouring house in Rue Tudelle, connected to the quayside house by a garden-courtyard. His younger son Isidore, on his release from a term of political imprisonment, lived with him; and finally, the widow of his elder son, with her two children (the future painter and his sister) very likely moved into the Rue Tudelle house. The building works that Guillaume ordered around this period presumably went into modernising those premises.

Guillaume was already, despite their age-difference, Paul's godfather, and he may also have been deputy guardian of the children, since Isidore assumed this role only after Guillaume's death. In spite of his illness, Guillaume continued to manage the family assets: two years before his death, a donation ensured a firm arrangement for their distribution among his heirs, though his hand was by then so unsteady that he could barely sign the document. Isidore's naïve signature grew somewhat stronger as that of his father grew weak.

Another generation ■ The Gauguins having stepped up a class, a degree of refinement was now in order. The following generation, that of Clovis (the artist's father) and Isidore (the model for the portrait *156*), strove for quite different goals, and at this point the growth of the Gauguins' fortune came to an end.

Of the two brothers, Isidore seems to have been the less assertive, walking in his father's footsteps without showing the same indomitable energy. Beginning his career as a jeweller – this was a somewhat more decorous business than grocery – he seems to have stopped working much earlier than his father, and to have organised a small independent income by converting the whole of his inheritance into securities. His calculations were not entirely successful since his income in the last years of his life was very modest – in the region of FF 2,000 a year – indeed, barely sufficient to keep him. Having inherited FF 60,000, he left only 40,000.

We do not know why he never married. He had no children, and spent his latter days as an old bachelor in a tiny apartment surrounded by his naturalist's collection and a Larousse encyclopédique, which at least suggests some degree of intellectual curiosity (see his portrait, *156*).

As to Gauguin's father, Clovis, he remains all too mysterious. We know almost nothing about him, with the exception of two little signatures, one on his marriage contract of 1846, the other on a minor document of 1847. The signature is sensitive, imaginative and idealistic; it has an almost poetic harmony. It is also full and concentrated, suggesting strength and clarity of thought; vitality there is aplenty, but, by contrast with the expansive flourish of his fiancée, introversion predominates. From Clovis, Gauguin took his strong propensity for reflection, and no doubt, too, something of his intellectual nature and inmost sensibility.

Clovis, more imaginative than his forebears, broke completely with family tradition, leaving for Paris to take up a career as a 'man of letters' and placing his talent at the service of an ideal: republicanism. Yet he was no mere dreamer and had inherited the constructive nature of the Gauguins. Taking into account the moneys he inherited from his mother and grandfather, we estimate that at thirty-six he had saved more than FF 6,000 from his own earnings – and journalism was not, after all, an invariably lucrative profession. He too invested his savings: in railway shares – a modern investment that perhaps bespoke a progressive turn of mind – and, like his father, in loans.

Clovis eventually became a journalist on Marrast's *National*, a daily paper ferociously opposed to the July Monarchy. From the fall of Louis-Philippe until late 1848, the men of the *National* took a substantial role in government. Not that the paper represented the most left-wing political factions; the *National* was fervently democratic, but of liberal tendency, and in 1848 favoured the use of force to quell the workers and socialists. Alas, the articles in this well-written polemical paper were very rarely signed. Would an in-depth study enable us to identify Clovis' contributions?

Gauguin's gift for writing may perhaps be owed to this journalist, of whom we know so little. But, as we shall see, one of his grandmothers was also a writer.

What Clovis did in 1848, we do not know, though it is hard to imagine him completely inactive. Several of his friends, some of them quite close ones, threw themselves into politics, and won a place in history by their deeds. Did Clovis play a more modest part in the events of that year? Did he prefer to

influence events through the pen? In July 1849, at the baptism of his son, he declared himself 'unemployed': had he stopped writing for the *National*, or was it becoming dangerous to confess to his occupation? Whatever the case, political disappointment, and perhaps, too, the inclinations of his wife, led him in 1849 to seek a new life abroad. Clovis, the first Gauguin to have left his family origins in the Orleans hinterland, now sought farther shores.

Republican convictions were in the Gauguin blood; Isidore, following in Guillaume's footsteps, had embraced them to the extent of incurring a prison sentence in the wake of the 1851 coup d'état (see his portrait, *156*). It was these convictions that brought Gauguin's parents together, when, at the Bascans' 'republican' boarding school, on Rue de Chaillot, Clovis met a charming orphan, whom he soon after married. Her name was Aline Chazal.

❑ The Chazal family

This young lady did not, as Clovis did, have deep and stable roots in France. Her origins were striking in their contrast and variety, and in them barriers social, national and racial had all been overstepped. And whereas Clovis was born to a close-bound patriarchal tribe, Aline belonged to a matriarchal tradition of broken families.

Arts ■ Gauguin's gifts surely came to him primarily through his mother; on that side, he was the fourth generation to take up an artistic activity.

To the wife of a print manufacturer and dealer, two brothers were born: Antoine Chazal, who had a very successful career as painter and engraver, and André, Gauguin's grandfather, an engraver and lithographer (a work of his is reproduced in the *Chronology* at the Maternal Genealogy). André later became a surveyor, and ended his troubled existence as the proprietor of a junk shop. In 1821, he married a colourer working in the studio that he had founded; her name was Flora Tristan. She subsequently published a number of articles on art in *L'Artiste*, but this was somewhat in passing, and she devoted the second part of her life to her political enthusiasms.

On Flora's death in 1844, the guardians of Flora's children Aline and Ernest were nevertheless chosen from artistic milieux. They were the draughtsman Auguste Baupaume and a close associate of Flora's, Jules Laure, a history and portrait painter who exhibited assiduously at the Salon. Jules Laure belonged to the *École sociétaire*[19], that is, he was a follower of Fourier, and this political commitment was no doubt an important component of his faithful friendship with Flora. He remained a family friend, since he was one of Aline's witnesses at her marriage.

Aline had no profession. Like all well-bred young women, she had 'learnt to draw at boarding school', but Gauguin seems not to have esteemed her talents very highly. He remembered a drawing she had made of a Lima church as 'admirable, that is, horrible[20]'. But she surely had great taste; everything we know about her suggests this. Aline's brother Ernest at first fell in with family tradition, becoming a draughtsman while still quite young.

On the Orleans side of his family, there was no direct tradition pushing Gauguin toward the arts. True, we know nothing about the Gauguin family's no doubt rather modest tastes, apart from Isidore's liking for earthenware (see his portrait, *156*) and the harmonious sensibility that we suppose Clovis to have possessed. But it was perhaps to his peasant ancestry that Gauguin owed his warm sense of touch and his ready and inventive hands, which quickly gave him a taste for experimenting with and combining materials; it was to push him well beyond painting into sculpture, engraving and the applied arts (see *Portrait of Aline*, *155*, inset).

Family secrets ■ Yet Gauguin, when he came to write of his origins, never mentioned his grandfather nor even his great-uncle Chazal, and this was probably because his mother rarely spoke of them. A hostage in the violent conflict between her parents, Aline took refuge in the camp of the stronger and more charming party, that is, her mother.

Chazal's life was one long defeat, and there is no indication that he possessed much strength of character. A contemporary journalist described him as 'of very ordinary physiognomy[21]'. He persisted with none of his occupations and fell into debt, apparently from gambling. Faced with the scorn of the formidable Flora Tristan, who thought him '*petit bourgeois*'[22] and must have provoked him beyond all bounds, he lost control, wounded her with a pistol shot, and spent seventeen years in prison. He too was highly political in outlook, and, by contemporary standards, a left-wing extremist. When, in 1849, he wrote his *Memoir of a Pariah*, a plea for mercy addressed to the President, he also sent it to two renowned politicians. One of these was the eloquent Jules Favre, who had defended him at his trial – having frequently taken up the cause of the workers under Louis-Philippe, at a time when republican lawyers willingly placed themselves at the service

of the socialist cause – and who subsequently enjoyed a long and successful career as a servant of liberal republicanism. The other was Victor Considérant, the leader of the Fouriéristes after Fourier's death, a generous precursor of socialism who had been elected as a Montagnard under the Second Republic, and was soon after forced into exile by the failure of that Republic. In his *Memoir*, Chazal contrasts social inequality, in all its heinousness, with 'the moral principle of fraternity, of balancing the needs of all', and propounds a Utopian socialism that would build 'model farms, hospital wards, agricultural cities, garden cities for workers, and fraternal union'. This is all expressed in the moralising and quasi-religious language of his period. But there are no signs in this prolix, often confused and grandiloquent text of any very remarkable qualities of mind.

André and Flora's son Ernest seems not to have counted for a great deal in his mother's eyes; his existence is barely suggested in her *Peregrinations of a Pariah*, whereas Flora several times mentions her regret at being separated from her daughter. He was brought up by his grandmother in the Seine-et-Oise, at least for a period around 1838-1839[23]. As an adult, Ernest seems to have followed in his father's footsteps in both the matter of work – he flitted between occupations – and that of debts. As soon as his mother was dead, he asked his guardian for advance after advance, eventually causing Bapaume to resign his guardianship. A plan related to his work, for which he demanded a very large sum, seems to have come to nothing. Impulsive to the point of muddle-headedness, Ernest too had his share of defeats. His father's *Memoir* reveals that in 1849, having been 'abandoned by his mother after she had used him to persecute me' (Flora must have obtained a statement against André Chazal from his son), 'without trade or assistance', 'reduced to despair', Ernest had emigrated to 'the almost foreign shores of Africa'. This surely meant Algeria, which was then undergoing large-scale colonisation. We come across him again as a sailor in Marseille (see *Chronology*, 1860), before all trace of him is lost.

These two shadowy beings, magnets to ill-fortune, seem to have been blotted out of the family memory; only the strong survived to make an impression on Gauguin.

❑ Flora the fiery

Gauguin's family line was rich in charisma, notably in the person of his grandmother Flora Tristan. She was in every way exceptional, and bequeathed him a great many attitudes and some important traits of character. We have therefore given an extended portrait of this extraordinary woman.

An aristocrat fallen on hard times ■ Flora's youth was marked by family trauma. Her father, the colonel, descended from a branch of the old Spanish nobility that had moved to Peru; her mother was a French *émigrée*, and Flora herself remained illegitimate in the eyes of the law since no civic value attached to her parents' religious wedding. Suddenly widowed, her mother was unable to inherit from her husband; she and her children were left destitute. Flora thus experienced poverty at first hand and was obliged to work, first as a colourer of lithographs and later as shop assistant in a *confiserie*. Finally – when, after very few years of married life, she left Chazal and embarked on a life of adventure – she took up employment as a chambermaid (according to her husband) or lady's companion (by her own account) in an English family[24].

She was a woman of exceptional vitality and intelligence and of the loftiest ideals, who suffered a great deal from her status in life and considered that society had 'expelled her from its bosom[25]'. She decided to acquire, largely, we suppose, unassisted, a measure of culture; the woman who at eighteen often resorted to an almost entirely phonetic variant of French spelling[26] had, by the 1830s, become a respected author. Eaten up with the desire to have her birth recognised by her family, she left her children in France and set off for Peru in order to convince her uncle Don Pío to restore her father's legacy. The South-American dream that she thus sought to realise haunted successive generations: her daughter Aline, her two grandchildren, Paul Gauguin (who left for Panama and Taboga in 1887), his sister Marie (who married a Colombian and settled in Bogotá), and Flora's Danish great-grandchild Emil Gauguin, all of them tried their luck on the far shore of the Atlantic.

The courage and capacity to up sticks, break all ties and venture into the unknown, are qualities not often encountered, but they were in the very blood of Gauguin's maternal line, and the painter inherited every ounce of them.

Adventure and conquest ■ Flora was, at all events, a veritable adventuress – was this something that she had inherited from her mother? And to this attribute she soon joined those of a woman of action.

Peregrinations of a Pariah, the narrative of her expedition, paints a vivid picture of this young woman of thirty in all her

exceptional energy and magnetism, a woman who was afraid of nothing and seems never to have suffered a moment's doubt. Her quick wit, articulacy and dashing appearance made her quite simply irresistible. A journalist of *Droit* in 1839 was all admiration for her face, which he described as 'remarkable for the delicacy of its traits [...] a pretty, Grecian nose, beautiful dark hair, expressive eyes, and a Spanish woman's complexion[27]'. Her attractions were undiminished in her forties, when a German publicist noted how 'her tall figure and noble features, animated by her ardent dark eyes, redoubled the effect of her words[28]'. Flora was perfectly conscious of her attractions and made virtuoso use of them throughout her life, sometimes for fun, and not infrequently for specific purposes. Seductress she may have been, coquette she was not; she was animated by a passion for grand ideas, and the nobility of her sentiments is undeniable. Her concern was the effectiveness, not of her charms, but of her campaigning.

She was wonderfully intelligent. Wherever she went, whether stopping over in Cap Verde or living in Peru, her observation of social context and economic organisation was invariably acute, and she was swift and unerring in determining what remedial action was required. She seems to have had a decisiveness of truly managerial kind, perhaps inherited from her Spanish family and its generations of landowning aristocrats, administrators, high-ranking commanders and churchmen. We know nothing about the deeds of her father, a colonel and doctor of law, but we know that her uncle, Don Pío, enjoyed a long and substantial career in politics; a letter that he wrote to Flora is a masterpiece of diplomacy in its firm but prudent management of assets and 'personnel'[29].

Flora was supremely gifted in her political intuition. During the Peruvian civil wars, she saw more clearly than anyone into the complexities of local affairs; various notabilities, including Don Pío himself, came every day to discuss matters with this fascinating young woman, who unhesitatingly lavished her advice on them.

The scars of love ■ Intensely realistic though Flora's intelligence was, she remained a romantic idealist, a heroine of blazing humanitarian sentiment, and a sincere mystic: 'In 1833, for me, love was a religion [...]. I considered love the very inspiration of the Lord[30]'. From her earliest youth, she at times felt the breath of this inspiration: 'Unbeknownst to myself, God had come to inhabit me[31]'.

But she was also one of the walking wounded. Though she spoke of the 'idolatrous love that [she] felt for [her] father[32]', we should remember that she had lost this father in her very early childhood. Later, perhaps because of her birth, she had been 'rejected' by the family of her first love[33]. Other defeats followed, and by her thirtieth year her feelings had been thoroughly ulcerated: 'at the time, I could not hear the word love spoken without tears coming to my eyes[34]'. Her excessive idealism and sensitivity and her sheer intransigence meant that she never again ventured to commit herself in love. There are grounds for thinking that this sentimental discomfiture was visited on her descendants; half a century later, her painter-grandson lived out a similar experience.

When her uncle refused to see in Flora anything more than an illegitimate child, he inflicted on her a terrible blow that reopened old wounds. For Flora, it was an utterly frustrating refusal, and she immediately compensated for it by dreaming of a political role in Peru, never for a moment doubting that she could marry into the Peruvian ruling class. Having given up this idea, she soon after discovered another role: on her return to France, she gave herself up mind and body to social causes.

Flora never really faced up to these underlying traumas. She found ways of evading them, as we shall see, in the intensification of her views, her increasingly aggressive energy, her need for unremitting action and her mystical conviction that her political commitments were inspired by divine love. But in youth and maturity alike, suffering was her habitual state. She used it as a goad to action and seems to have been unable to exist without it.

Plunging into the future ■ On her return to Paris, Flora published several works and became a public figure. A 'bluestocking' in Gauguin's description[35], she opened up her salon on the Faubourg Saint-Germain to an entire political and literary avant-garde and to a number of enlightened workers. Among her close friends and allies, she could count Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, her 'intimate friend' according to Gauguin[36] and a pioneer of Romantic poetry, in whom the repression of the Lyon workers' riots in 1835 had inspired verses of powerful indignation; George Sand, who had, since 1835, been moving towards a humanitarian and idealist socialism deriving from Pierre Leroux and Félicité-Robert de Lamennais, and who had written some of the very earliest novels to be inspired by socialism – amongst others, *Spiridon* (1838) and *Le Compagnon du Tour de France* (1840); Barthélemy-Prosper Enfantin, a Saint-Simonien who founded the model community of Ménilmontant and a church directed

by a Father and Mother – a socio-religious notion to which Flora was largely sympathetic, though she later objected to certain of Enfantin's ideas on the organisation of work[37]; Victor Considérant, whom she called by his first name, and who was the only one of the Fouriéristes for whom she retained some esteem (Considérant was one of the first to propound a right to work); Pauline Roland, who had moved away from Saint-Simonisme toward socialism, a tall dark-haired and profoundly courageous woman, who was an important adjutant to Leroux, and for whom Flora had some degree of affection[38]; Pierre Leroux himself, and many other visionaries and agents of social change.

Flora was singularly radical. It was not just the great principles of the Revolution that were at stake – these had already been taken up by an increasingly powerful liberal *bourgeoisie* – but the most advanced causes of the time; the emancipation of slaves and of women; and the cause of the working class, whose increasing pauperisation was widely perceived in the 1830s. There was nothing half-hearted about her convictions. Following Proudhon, she repeated 'Property is theft[39]'; she considered the goals set for the working class by Étienne Cabet (one of the Utopian 'communists' of the time) – 'for everyone a clean and comfortable home, with a little garden all of their own' – showed a 'narrow-minded selfishness'; she dreamt that the earth might one day 'offer a huge and magnificent garden for everyone, that humanity might become a huge and unified family of which each member should live as they chose and receive each according to their needs[40]'. She herself always refused to own real estate and invested her modest savings in securities.

Above all, this aristocratic woman execrated the *bourgeoisie* and the Church, which together ensured the continued oppression of the working class. She was radical in her rejection of those who had any truck whatever with the *bourgeoisie*, and was pitiless even on those who might have seemed her natural allies: Cabétistes, Saint-Simoniens, and Fouriéristes, whom she condemned as '*bourgeois* socialists', 'stupid, unimaginative and selfish', declaring that 'one no longer knows to what species they belong[41]'. Mere republicans fared no better.

These intellectual habits and class reflexes were not lost on her grandson. Neither the *bourgeoisie* nor the Church found much favour in Gauguin's eyes, and in many of his writings he condemns the absurdity of certain social injustices and the meanness of *bourgeois* reactions, sentiments in direct line of continuity with some of Flora's scathing observations on the organisation of society.

Anger and activism ■ But Flora wanted to go one step further. She wanted to see for herself what no one then went to see: the working classes. After an expedition to London, this aristocratic single woman undertook a tour of France to meet the workers of the industrial cities.

She kept an extraordinarily lively and modern journal of this tour[42]. It shows her giving every ounce of her energy to persuading the workers to form *Unions ouvrières*[43]; of convincing them that they should demand the right to work, education and daily bread, all of these ideally guaranteed by the State. These were more than progressive notions at the time; they were bordering on the Utopian. Visiting local notabilities, observing all around her, noting down the living conditions of the wretched and the well-off alike, she held meetings in workshops, where, if the lamp-light showed her just a few of the hundred or more workers gathered in the dark, she could take the pulse of her audience and adopt precisely the tone required. She slept little and ate less, sweating profusely on the stifling shop floors, braving the rain and the mud, expending incredible amounts of energy. It cost Flora her health; in due course, it cost her her life.

No one was more active, expeditious and energetic than Flora. 'Yesterday I arrived at 5 and by 8 I had already met 6 notable citizens', she wrote in Saint-Étienne. 'My need to act is terrifying, I fear it may degenerate into a chronic illness[44]'. Though at times she still made conscious use of her charm, what she loved more than anything else was the taste of battle, and the demolition of her adversaries' arguments gave her intense pleasure. She was quite unconcerned by the enemies she was making: 'I attach no importance, but no importance whatsoever, to public opinion[45]'.

She had a gift of unerring intuition, bringing to bear on everyone she met an instant and pitiless verdict that she recorded in lapidary – sometimes comical – fashion. No one was safe from her judgement. The workers' ignorance and intellectual inertia frequently exasperated her: 'When I see the people in this state of utter degradation, I'm overcome with rage! If I did not believe in a good, just, powerful and providential God I should this very instant become a brigand in order to burn and destroy a humanity that filled me with horror!' She quickly attempts to sublimate this impulse of destruction: 'But since I believe in a good God, I serve him through humanity, make myself an apostle and a prophet, and love this poor humanity exactly as much as I find it ugly, wretched and suffering[46]'. But her own energy and aggression, however constantly expended, rebounded against her,

bringing on 'spasms' in the form of a 'cholerine' that ruined her health.

Mission and sacrifice ■ Flora was convinced that she was a 'Guide-Woman' invested with a divine mission: 'I obey the voice of God that speaks in me[47]'. By a bizarre logic, this God was spelled not *Dieu* but (in the plural) *Dieux*. For in Flora's view *Dieux* was manifold: father, mother and embryo, explicated by her occultist friend Éliphas Levi as active generation, passive generation, and indefinite progress[48]. Like many socialists of her time, Flora continued to be profoundly influenced by the founding spirit of Christianity, though she violently rejected the dogmas and structures of the church: 'Christianity', she wrote, 'has become pagan, nothing remains of the doctrine of Jesus but the name[49]'. Her faith was one of those convictions that have come into being at least since the Age of Enlightenment; broader than any individual religion, and to that extent more rational, it nonetheless drew on the essential spiritual values. This modern spirituality, found throughout the nineteenth century including in numerous thinkers, republicans and positivists (thus August Comte invented a 'religion of humanity'), was one Flora shared with Gauguin. Like his grandmother, he retained the basic values of Christianity and a sturdy attachment to the figure of Jesus himself, while utterly rejecting the small-mindedness of the Church (see *Vision, 308*, 'Spiritual painting').

Flora sacrificed everything to her mission: 'my time, my health, my reputation, my money, tastes and affections[50]'. Not that she had much money. The pension promised by her uncle Don Pío (FF 2,500) supplied her material needs, but luxury was beyond her means. Moreover, we do not know whether it was paid throughout her life. She bore her own travel and publication expenses, having therefore to reduce what she spent on herself, and she stayed in the cheapest hotels, on one occasion hesitating to buy herself a second pair of shoes even though the one pair she had was frequently soaked. She maintained her flat in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, but the annual rent of FF 900 suggests how modest this was. She would in any case have been content with '2 little rooms on the 4th floor[51]' – little enough for a woman of her rank.

She nonetheless had a sense of reality, and bore her children's interests in mind. Her money, invested in fairly modern ways – in loans, bonds and railway stock – provided a tiny independent income of some FF 1,500 a year. When she died she left her children a modest inheritance, sufficient to assist them early in their lives. It was, however, less than half the legacy of Guillaume Gauguin the grocer, and a long way from that of a well-off *bourgeois*.

Flora's charm and energy could have brought her gifts and an advantageous marriage: 'Had I so wished, I might have been rich by now – have had houses, land and revenues[52]'. But she had chosen this 'harassed, precarious, tormented life', a veritable 'apostle's life' replete with sufferings that she compared to Christ's – 'Oh, Jesus, my poor brother[53]' – since she was sustained by her mystic inspiration and the mystic joys that it provided; one such was the 'magnificently religious scene' in which the Lyons workers – the most politicised and organised of them all – fulfilled her every wish by weeping with her 'for joy, happiness and love of humanity![54]' True, she liked to be on the move, and her mission catered amply for that: 'What life was ever so varied as mine! […] over these forty years what centuries I have lived![55]' All things said and done, she judged 'this existence […] full of charm and poetry[56]'. Gauguin too had the sense of a mission to be accomplished whatever the cost in suffering or personal sacrifice, and it was undoubtedly from Flora that it came. He was not so exalted a personality, but, like his grandmother, he never regretted his choices: 'The life of the artist is one long Calvary! And perhaps this is what keeps us alive. Passion is life and we die when it lacks fuel. No more of these thorny pathways – though they do have their own wild poetry[57]'.

❑ A young couple

Flora's daughter Aline was as charming as her mother was 'imperious and choleric', according to George Sand; 'this child has the air of an angel', Sand remarked in 1845[58]. Aline was very pretty and resembled Flora's father, Don Mariano. She was also of lively temperament: 'as behoved a very noble Spanish lady, my mother was violent', Gauguin wrote, speaking of a slap administered to him as a child, which was immediately followed by kisses. Aline inspired adoration in her son, who all his life dreamed of her gaze, 'so sweet and so imperious, so pure and caressing[59]'.

The enchanting Aline and the extremely serious Clovis: of this couple Gauguin was born. There can be no doubt that theirs was a love marriage; he, a journalist who had come to Paris alone, intending to combat the established order, and she a young woman eleven years his younger who, though orphaned, was 'managing' with some style. High hopes were in order. 'The young household was not unprovided for', Gauguin later observed[60]. Aline brought FF 25,000 to the marriage, while Clovis had slightly less, but could be expected to inherit not only half his father's fortune but also his mother's assets, of which his father had usufruct.

Republicanism before all else ■ They were a most progressively-minded couple. Clovis' world was one of political activism, and Aline was inoculated with her parents' ideas. She nevertheless refused to go as far as her mother in her political commitment, a fact that Flora lamented: 'She understands perfectly how far the idea takes one – she takes it up, at least in thought and word – […] She understands the grandeur of the plan, the beauty of the thought, but she will sacrifice neither herself nor her interests to see it succeed. – This lack of faith, of love, places a wall of iron between my poor daughter and myself. […] I think she feels and suffers from this, but is unable to change. So much for counting on one's children to become one's friends, disciples and successors! Folly! Among grocers and bakers, yes, but in the intellectual register – absurd![61]'

At all events, Clovis and Aline moved in the highest republican and intellectual circles. Among the witnesses at various family ceremonies between 1846 and 1848, we find Armand Marrast, editor-in-chief of the *National* till 1848, when he first became Mayor of Paris and then President of the Assemblée Constituante (he must have been a close friend, since the address he gave as witness to the couple's marriage was the one they occupied the following year, for whatever reason); Édouard Degouve-Denuncques, a liberal publicist opposed to Louis-Philippe, who was appointed Préfet by the Comité exécutif of 1848; and Ferdinand and Sophie Bascans, their close friends. Since Bapaume's resignation, Ferdinand had been Aline's guardian. He had formerly managed the bellicose *Tribune*, but, his opinions having cost him some one hundred trials accompanied by seizure of entire numbers of the paper, FF 60,000 of fines, 32 months spent in prison and three courts martial, he had retired from this work into teaching; with his wife, he ran the boarding school where Aline had been placed by Flora's friend Pauline Roland. Other notable figures in their entourage included Hyacinthe Valmore – the daughter of Flora's friend, the poet Marceline Desbordes-Valmore – also a teacher, and obviously a close friend, since Aline asked her to be godmother to her daughter Marie (Hyacinthe was married to a publicist and politician at that time allied to the *National* tendency); Jules Rochefort Peysonnel, editor of the *National*; and Léopold Duras, editor-in-chief of the *National* after Marrast had taken up his political functions in 1848, a man much esteemed for his talents and conscientiousness, who became the syndic of journalists in the Assemblée nationale under the Second Republic.

We should note in passing that many of Clovis' friends were fairly moderate liberals, who remained in power even after the brutal repression of the June 1848 popular movement by General Cavaignac. Marrast, who had supported this repression, though he regretted its necessity, later presided over the session of the Assembly that approved Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte's election to the highest office of state; Degouve retained his position and was eventually sacked by Louis-Napoléon. Duras was a Cavaignac supporter and fled to Belgium only later, during the *coup d'état* of 2 December 1851.

We do not know what Clovis felt concerning the repression of the workers' and socialist movement. But his reaction after the Bonapartist vote of December 1848 seems to have been radical and relatively immediate, in that he left France in August 1849. Was the collapse of republican hopes sufficient to explain this departure? Or had Clovis been compromised in some fashion? Did he foresee the repression of the republican movement, which did not begin in earnest till after August 1849? And what role did Aline play in this decision, which must surely have been taken several months before their departure?

Such a voyage must have required considerable preparation; when the couple left France, planning to join Aline's family in Peru, they took with them FF 17,500 worth of fashionable modern fancy goods (export wool and silk products and factory-produced soap and candles were among the most dynamic branches of French industry at this time). The sale of these items would have enabled the family to live for some time, or even to set up a regular trade, and this might, in its turn, have underpinned a second dream: Gauguin tells us that his father 'planned to found a newspaper' in Lima[62]. All the same, some moneys had remained in France. Aline, in any case, kept the annuities that were in her name, and sold them only later. Return was certainly not ruled out.

❑ Aline

Testing times ■ But Clovis died suddenly in the Straits of Magellan, and suddenly the pattern of her mother and grandmother's lives had stamped itself on Aline's; she had to bring up and provide for her children on her own. The years of plenty were now a thing of the past, and, having been treated

'like a veritable spoilt child' by her Peruvian family in Lima[63], for the rest of her life she struggled for money. 'Although we never lived in abject poverty, things thereafter were quite austere[64]': this is how Gauguin remembered the conditions of his childhood.

Aline did not have her mother's willpower, but courage, decisiveness and a taste for action were hers by inheritance. She was no stick-in-the-mud, having left Paris for Lima and Lima for Orleans before returning to Paris. Even in Paris she moved house at least three times in seven years.

She tried, like her mother, to obtain money from her Peruvian family. But she failed utterly, refusing the proposed financial arrangement out of aristocratic pride: 'my mother […], always the proud one', Gauguin later reported, 'replied "All or nothing". The answer was "nothing"[65]'. This very absolute behaviour was Flora's legacy, and Gauguin in turn inherited his part of it: 'I hate nullity and half-tones […]. For me, it must be everything – I may not be able to attain it, but I never stop wanting to', he later wrote[66].

Aline's financial measures combined good sense with a rather modern outlook. She protected her children by converting their inheritance (Orleans houses and loans) into annuities and bonds, which were then completely safe investments and did not require management *in situ*. Moreover, she obtained better prices for these assets than her brother-in-law Isidore, who also converted the whole of his inheritance into paper assets. Aline kept the family house for their own use, but it was thoroughly modernised, with the creation (at long last) of a dining room and of toilets. No doubt it lost in this process whatever rusticity it had still possessed. The quayside part of the house was now of higher commercial value, and was rented out to an architect and landscape gardener. The property as a whole, including Rue Tudelle, soon brought in nearly FF 800 per annum, testifying to the shrewdness of Aline's decision.

Work ■ But Aline probably found it hard to live 'buried' in provincial Orleans. As soon as Paul and Marie were old enough, she decided to rebuild her Parisian life. And since her fortune was insufficient to cover both living and education expenses, she took a radical decision: to work. *Bourgeois* women did not, at this period, take paid employment. But Aline had not received a traditional upbringing: in line with her mother's ideas about the independence of women, she had, at eighteen years of age, worked as a 'seamstress'[67]. In early 1860, then, she set herself up as a 'dressmaker' or 'couturière'. In her large apartment on Rue de la Chaussée-d'Antin, a few rooms served as living quarters, while, on the other side of the antechamber, seamstresses toiled in a workshop. Beyond rent, furniture and salaries, Aline presumably had few expenses: couturières at this period worked only to order, providing few raw materials beyond linings and minor accessories, since the cloth was supplied by the client. We have no way of knowing whether she acquired sewing machines, whose diffusion at this time was putting non-mechanised dressmakers under severe commercial pressure. But perhaps she had no need to. It is easy to imagine that with her charm, taste and connections, she made bespoke model gowns rather than lines of clothing, and worked for private clients rather than drapers or shops like *Les Trois Quartiers*.

We do not know whether her business performed to expectation. Some years later we find her as managing director of Palmyre. The wisdom of this is clear: Aline knew she was ill, and in this way avoided shouldering complete financial responsibility. And Palmyre was not just any old fashion house; twenty years earlier, it had been among the most modish of such houses, and the society woman and palatine princess who figures in Reynaud's *Jérôme Paturot* considered it the very height of chic[68].

At the same time, from the moment she arrived in Paris, Aline assiduously cultivated high social circles. She was very close to the rich, cultured *bourgeois* family of the Arosas, who had, like her, Hispano-Peruvian connections, and she eventually moved to a flat close by their country house at Saint-Cloud. Gustave Arosa, a stockbroker seven years her elder, helped her financially, and on her death acted almost as if she had been family, declaring her death, helping with the inventory, and settling outstanding rent. Aline appointed him guardian of her two children, and though Paul, as a sailor, was more independent, Marie was treated as a daughter by the Arosas, who nicknamed her 'Bichette'; she was still living with them in 1870.

Towards the end, Aline was too weak to work, and her certificate of death defines her as 'of independent means'. But what were these means? They can only have been the interest on her own investments and those of her children – the latter was available to her as their guardian – and this amounted to perhaps FF 1,600. She had no more money than a clerical employee just starting work, and less than many modest shopkeepers and craftsmen. During her illness, she must have had barely enough to live on.

She had nevertheless managed to arrange for herself a tolerable lifestyle in surroundings at least somewhat agreeable: a four-

room ground-floor flat in Saint-Cloud, at a rent substantially lower than those of Paris (FF 400 per annum). There the casement windows of her bedroom gave onto a terrace and garden, and she kept a little room for Paul and Marie. Around her were her furniture, carpets and woollen hangings, none of them very luxurious and some of them rather the worse for wear, but not degrading for a woman of her rank; in some cases they were quite elegant, her bed, for example, having a gilded canopy with muslin curtains. Perhaps because she so often moved house, she had not accumulated a great number of possessions. Her wardrobe itself was not abundant. But nothing was lacking. A few decorative objects – bronze candelabras, chinoiseries, copper-mounted porcelain and other such – make it clear that she liked to be surrounded by choice objects. She had shown herself to be a most efficient manager of her children's assets, and despite the cost of their education, she left them nearly FF 40,000 (if we count the house on Quai Tudelle, which was sold a little later), that is, more or less what they had received from their grandfather (FF 38,000 by donation and legacy). But nothing more than this: the money remaining from her own inheritance and the profits she had made were all eaten up by daily expenses.

Force of circumstance ■ Gallant Aline! What ordeals life had in store for her. Part and parcel of her parent's altercations, she was brought up fatherless by a mother who was, fortunately, strong and resolute, and whom she doubtless adored, but who was not very maternal in character, and who, as her own hand recorded, grew in some respects distant from her daughter. In September 1844, Flora wrote: 'I love and admire my poor daughter. There is much that is good in her […] The suffering has done her a lot of good. – Oh! What a wonderful thing suffering is! / But I love my spiritual daughter more […] For Aline I would make sacrifices that I wouldn't make for St Jean (as I shall now call Éléonore), but I love St Jean more. I live more in her and she in me. I should be more pained by the loss of St Jean than of Aline[69]'.

Aline was an orphan at eighteen, a widow at twenty-eight, and doubtless knew that she was seriously ill when she drew up her will at forty. But the hand that signed it is as decisive as ever; far from offering the image of a victim, Aline seems to have been exemplary in her reactivity, courage and adaptability. She had inherited a certain aristocratic hauteur that led her at times to express scorn for 'business' (see *Mette Asleep*, *22*, inset), but was nevertheless driven to take up a business and did so without repining, her mother having given her the example of a life led outside social norms. She frequented many different milieux, for the most part enlightened ones, it must be said: the literary and political avant-garde of her mother's circle; the vanguard republican milieux of her husband; the aristocratic circles of the Peruvian establishment, among which she lived what were perhaps the most glittering years of her life; the provincial lower middle class represented by her husband's family in Orleans, which she probably sought to escape as soon as she could; and the *grande bourgeoisie* of the Arosas, to whom she entrusted her children when she died. Certainly, her life could not have taught her children to identify themselves with any one social class, and Gauguin learnt this lesson perfectly, unlike his sister, who seems to have been rather *bourgeoise* in her ambitions.

❑ Mixed blood

Are there any grounds for believing that the French and Spanish lineage of Gauguin's family had at some point received an unexpected and mysterious addition, and that the Peruvian branch of the family had on occasion overstepped the racial bounds dividing them from the Amerindian population?

The genealogy of that family shows no trace of it, but there was undoubtedly an oral tradition to this effect in the family. Pola Gauguin tells us that the Peruvian family possessed 'an old daguerreotype of a woman who was, so they say, a sister of Don Mario's [this must surely be Don Mariano, the artist's great-grandfather on the maternal side], which makes this idea [miscegenation] more than likely[70]'. As to Flora, she observed of Don Pío, Don Mariano's brother: 'My uncle doesn't have a European face […] of sturdy build […] he has all the agility of an inhabitant of the Cordilleras; at his age (he was then sixty-four), he is nimbler and more active than a Frenchman of twenty-five'. 'Yet our family is of pure Spanish blood', Flora immediately adds, specifying that Don Pío had blue eyes and finely-modelled features[71]. But at this time, and in this milieu, the attribution of mixed race may have seemed wholly unacceptable.

Gauguin, by contrast, boasted of being Indian in 1888 (see *Wrestlers*, *298*, inset), and proudly proclaimed 'In me […] there are two races[72]'. And Rotonchamp, who knew Gauguin, judged him 'in appearance as in fact, of mixed race[73]': a half-breed.

It is difficult for a Westerner to appreciate the contribution that this might have made to Gauguin's make-up. Might it have enhanced his physical strength, his energy and his liking

for sport? Might it, more mysteriously, have led him to seek a primitive life, to rediscover instincts and simple, concrete feelings? Or was it simply another of the factors that made of him such an astonishing figure, one who sometimes showed himself quite outside the common mould?

❑ Paul

A leader ■ Of Aline's two children, Marie was certainly the more conventional. Paul, by contrast, inherited the dissidence, willpower and profundity of his ancestors.

He had all the qualities required in a leader: the strength, the independence of character, the dynamism and the deliberation. The engraver Colin wrote that 'Energy seem to flow out of every part of him; he seemed to be incubating some vast work[74]'. Schuffenecker confirms that Gauguin was capable of the 'incessant and fertile production that justified Degas' remark: / Gauguin is one of the forces of Nature[75]'.
The slender Flora was remarkable for her nervous intensity, whereas Gauguin's energy was sustained by a strong physical constitution. He was rather more thick-set than his great grandfather Don Pío, perhaps thanks to the peasant blood of the Gauguins – but he must have been almost as vigorous. His was a constitution as demanding as it was robust. Van Gogh said of him: 'There can be no doubt that we find ourselves in the presence of an untrammelled creature with the instincts of a wild animal. In Gauguin, sex and hot blood outweigh ambition[76]'.
Much of his character had come down to him from Flora, most notably his uncompromising aggression and his taste for action, but also his radicalism, pride and intransigence. Fortunately, the deliberation and harmony of the Gauguin family were there to temper his grandmother's excesses.
'It was in his nature to like anything that savoured of struggle and combat', De Monfreid observed[77]. Like Flora, he loved to do battle, whether this meant stonewalling or a flamboyant cavalry charge. Like her, he was forced to discover means of keeping this dangerous aggression in check, but did so, as we shall see, by much more inward methods. But late in his life we find him the perfect heir to his dissident ancestor; up in arms against the colonial authorities on behalf of the natives of the Marquesas, he showed a quarrelsome mindset very reminiscent of Flora's.
Flora was never for a moment deserted by the certainty that she was in the right. Gauguin, too, never fundamentally doubted himself; never doubted his judgement, his instinct, nor his natural right to be a pioneer and explorer. Even before he had manifested all a leader's abilities, he showed the self-assurance of a leader: in 1885, the stances that he assumed in the artistic milieux were so dogmatic that he made a lot of enemies (see the introduction to the Dieppe campaign). He attained a more balanced attitude when, in 1888, he began to show himself not merely a pioneer but a man who could muster his allies around him.
On the Spanish and Peruvian side, he descended from a governing caste accustomed to decision-making, and a certain assumption of superiority is clear: 'There's noble blood [in me]', he observed[78]. From Flora he had his peremptory, aristocratic judgement of all around him. His trenchant reaction when, in 1888, a hack writer named Champsaur made an indelicate attempt to bargain a picture out of him, offers a perfect illustration of Gauguin's natural hauteur (cf. *Round Dance, 296*, **D** and **P**).
He was quite unaffected by what others thought of him. From an early age, he frequently refused to meet others' expectations: 'He will have to make his own career', Aline noted, 'since he has done so little to endear himself to my friends[79]' – though , at seventeen, one might perhaps expect him to be a little contrary. In the merchant navy, his 'ferocious insubordination' apparently prevented him from reaching a grade higher than seaman, second class (see *Fruit, 312*). At twenty-five, he was sometimes a little surly; 'he was rather lacking in polish', a woman friend remarked[80]. As a married man, he unhesitatingly overrode convention, on one occasion passing through the sitting room in which his wife's guests were assembled wearing only a nightgown[81] .Like Flora, who thought nothing – 'but nothing whatever[82]' – of opinion, he was not afraid of offending people. He was less interested in diplomacy than in frankness, which might be brutal but was at least clear and concise.

Radical ideas ■ In art, as in life, he liked trenchancy and decision, which 'freed him of any impediment[83]': 'an art is indeed a meagre one if it is founded on […] diplomacy, that is, the *juste milieu* which ruffles no one's feelings. Whereas art shaped by bold and even erroneous convictions is truly rich[84]'. His republican ancestors had handed down to him his need to change established systems, explore uncharted territory, to be radical and overthrow what he found, and he was perfectly conscious of adopting their tradition. He described his Impressionist technique to a Scandinavian interlocutor as

'revolutionary in France, *a fortiori* red here[85]'. And at times he was indeed a 'red'; he was daring enough to make wholesale experiment, and was unafraid, when the time came, to make the most abrupt leaps into the most iconoclastic positions. He liked to surprise himself, and he liked to wipe the slate clean. Truth, he felt, lay in absolute decisions: 'Perhaps in our opposition we exaggerated the contrary; who can say whether a thing is exaggerated; all great human acts are exaggerations[86]'.
Blood will out: the Gauguins served ideals, and grand gestures were on the family agenda. In his obedience to something higher, Gauguin spared neither others nor himself. He accepted the suffering implied by his vocation, first and foremost the need to sacrifice his family to his mission: 'I feel more painfully than ever the horror of the sacrifice that I have made, which is irreparable', he confessed to Morice when about to leave for Tahiti[87]. Even in matters artistic, isolation was obligatory: 'I can expect fewer and fewer people to understand me, I know. What does it matter if I isolate myself from others[88]'. But he knew that he was solidly enrooted in nature and truth: 'The legend says that the Inca came direct from the sun and to the sun I shall return[89]'.

The inner man ■ Gauguin found this truth within himself; his, much more than Aline or Flora's, was a life of reflection. 'I have long known what I am doing and why I do it', he said in early adulthood; 'I am strong because I am never put out of my road by others and I do what it is in me to do[90]'.
Gauguin lost his father shortly after birth, was placed in boarding school when he was eleven, and quickly felt the need to find his own foundations and construct a self from his own resources. The child was indeed father to the man, and he later recorded of his childhood education at a Jesuit school: 'it was there that I learned, very young, to hate hypocrisy, assumed virtues and sneaking […]; to distrust everything that went against my instincts, my heart and my conceptions […] there I gained the habit of living within myself, tirelessly observing the game of my teachers, making my own toys and torments alike, with all the responsibilities that this implied[91]'.
It is easy to imagine that he showed from a very early age that characteristic of the profound and well-balanced: an instinctive discernment of his fellow-man.
He was shaped by the adverse fate that battened on his family, forcing its members to take themselves in hand and grow strong; his great-grandmother, grandmother and mother all had to face the full range of life's difficulties from an early age. Flora began work at seventeen, Aline at eighteen. Gauguin took responsibility for himself at the age of seventeen, having quickly learnt that he could depend on no one but himself.

Sensitive ■ But sensitivity and meditation were no less necessary to him than action and audacity. He told his wife 'there are two natures in me, the Indian and the sensitive', adding 'The latter has disappeared, allowing the Indian to march resolutely on[92]'. Yet the sensitive nature undoubtedly lived on. It took the form of the artist who painted 'dreaming before' Nature, and advised Schuffenecker to do the same[93], of the poet who translated the mystery of beings and things, whose brush caressed nature and brought forth its secret harmonies, and of the portraitist so discerning of the sensibility of his models.
It took the form of the mystic who secretly believed in love and love alone, and who, at times – for example, during his stay in Martinique – seems to have inhabited a state of grace. That state was, by its very nature, ephemeral, but it left in his soul an indelible criterion of perfection.
In 1888, the awakening of his spiritual side gave a conscious goal and an intellectual framework to this mystic sensibility. From the *Vision (308)* on, many of Gauguin's Symbolist works tackle those invisible mysteries that give meaning to life and, as such, imply that he had explored his own innermost depths in quest of all that was most elevated and profound.
Sensitive, too, was the man who, behind his apparent aggression, hid a wounded soul. This was a wound that never saw the light of day; just occasionally it transpires, for example in the painter's tenderness for such fragile beings as the little bather of *241* or the child wrestlers of *298*.
A scar, a mysterious sin, immemorial traces of a past that weighed down on him… There was the indelible mark of a father gone missing in each generation, experienced by Flora, Aline and Gauguin himself as though in preordained succession, and which Gauguin's own children themselves experienced in Denmark; the flaw-lines left by the abrupt breakdown of marital life in each generation, whether it was the brutal loss undergone by the youthful Aline, or the unforgiving and unforgiven violence that prevailed in the relations of Flora and André Chazal, culminating in accusations of incest and attempted murder. Gauguin too lived out this amputation of the affective life, lacking either the opportunity or the ability to re-establish a serener relationship with his wife after their separation – and perhaps in this way he withdrew a whole area of his soul from succour

or remedy. And there were the lesions inflicted on the family unconscious by destructive traits of violence or weakness: the absolutist violence of Flora and the weakness of André Chazal, the latter, alas, echoed in the life of Chazal's son, Ernest.
These were excessive trials, bravely borne, but from which, in the last analysis, Gauguin's family perhaps sought refuge in malady and early death. Flora died at forty, Aline at forty-two; Gauguin was already marked out by illness at thirty-nine, and died at fifty-five. It is as if the obscure presentiment of inevitable suffering or even the burden of sins on which no light had ever been shone led ineluctably to these deaths.

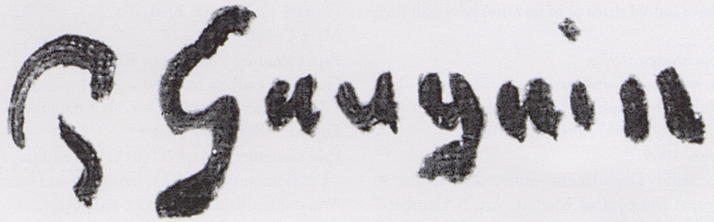
The essential first, truth before all else ■ Though their origins cannot always be detected, the traces left by such traumas can be deeply incised. The sense of her own suffering drove Flora to a runaway life of self-perpetuating action. Gauguin drew from his own suffering a certain reactive strength; but he basically chose to face the truth, to face up to his hurts and externalize them. 'Lies and venality are crimes[94]', he said, and truth was the rule he lived by. The refusal of sentimentality and easy satisfactions, the unmasking of lies, hypocrisy and pretension – Gauguin's resolute holding to the truth – these formed the absolute centre of the man. And he was as hard on himself as on others.
Indeed, he was one of those who on occasion take upon them the role of destroyer, who sometimes bat aside, with apparent brutality, conduct or artistic endeavour that they deem unhealthy or ineffectual. Schuffenecker, who experienced this method at first hand, had it explained to him as the 'principle of [Gauguin's] entire life – Violent rectitude, but rectitude all the same, and Compassion[95]'.
He cast a very individual light on his own traumas, when, on the formal level, he opted for distortion; the elegance and vigour of his proceeding in this respect allowed the Indian to shield the sensitive, expressing a sense of lack even as he seemingly provoked the spectator. This became an integral part of the primitivising aesthetic to which he committed himself.
For primitivism itself was a quest for inner truth; it outlawed any appearance of cleverness or *savoir-faire*, making it impossible to substitute virtuosity for art. Averse to the brilliant or seductive, it oriented the artist towards the most basic things. Refusing all mendacity about perfect worlds, it allowed him to reveal how imperfect humans are. Gauguin very early on chose the 'naïve' peasant-like Pissarro as his master, in preference to Renoir's amiability or Monet's brilliance.
Primitivism also related to a wild hope, that of abolishing all those prisms through which reality is perceived, in order to come closer to the obvious and essential. It was an attempt to wipe the slate clean of all established aesthetic formulas, of all known systems of value, to be guided only by fresh feelings and impressions, real strength and sincere thoughts – in this following the example of Cézanne, whose independence had long fascinated Gauguin. It suited the close of the nineteenth century, when traditional religious values were ebbing; when there was a presentiment that the lucid quest for truth was the sole surviving asset and remedy accessible to humankind. The twentieth century would find little to alter here.
For Gauguin, primitivism was more than an aesthetic: it was a totalising enterprise, a venture that required him to refuse the lifestyle of the modern world, and thus we find him painting works that suggest a return to the simple life (such as *Wrestler, 298*) and travelling to Martinique well before the stylistic revolution occurred.
Of course, we can attribute his primitivist tastes to his Amerindian ancestry, and no doubt, too, happy memories of his early childhood in Peru contributed to that inclination; but no less a factor was his own personal need for authenticity and essence. The man who increasingly often declared himself a 'savage' believed that this state led to emotional truth: 'In love', he said, 'a savage, a child or a peasant never look ridiculous[96]'.
Primitivism remained a questing attitude destructive of anything false. But it was introspection that gave access to the veritable prizes, obtainable only at the price of working down to the darkest and most unfathomable depths.
Even when his idealism was at its strongest, Gauguin was intensely hostile to idealisation, and in that respect differed from his grandmother and her excesses. Like all true mystics aspiring to give tangible form to the absolute, he was a thorough-going realist, and could never be so gauche as adopt a pose of angelism; he was too conscious of his own imperfections. He had, after all, despite his relatively stable nature, to come to terms with a demanding physical constitution and an aggression that was sometimes exorcised with his fists. Distortion, by bringing irremediable weakness to the light of day, allowed him to lay out upon the canvas the deformities of his soul.
As to seeking the darkest depths of the self, a veritable

meditation on the nature of evil flows forth in a number of works from 1888. *Human Misery (317)* dwells on the suffering that could lead the soul toward its own destruction. And *Fruit (312)* spotlights an 'inner savage', a destructive and even murderous entity bound by no laws, but which must be acknowledged if one is to gain access to the great wellings of primal energy over which it presides.
There was, then, a powerful moral impulse in this quest for liberty. Gauguin is clearly a systematic observer of the soul and a profound moralist in those of his Symbolist works that tackle philosophical questions. But these qualities are also evident in his portraits, which manifest considerable psychological penetration, often combining a cruelly lucid vision with a degree of tenderness for and even attraction toward the model. And perhaps one can say the same of all those scenes – landscapes, still lifes, and nudes – that display a contained sensuality in which strength and poetry are balanced against one another.
Van Gogh confirmed this: Gauguin, he said, 'likes to have you feel that a good painting must be the equivalent of an act of goodness, not that he says so, but it is difficult to spend time in his company without being aware of a certain moral responsibility[97]'. Such lucidity enabled Gauguin to live his life in a way combining conscience with liberty: 'Life only makes sense when lived through the will', he observed[98].

Secretive ■ Quest though he might for the truth, Gauguin held back from revealing everything that he had discovered. He liked being called 'the artist whose lips are sealed[99]'. Not all his thoughts were for public consumption; and allusions that he considered too personal were hidden without clues in the portraits of Mette *(154)* and Van Gogh *(326)*, in *Interior (164)*, the *Vision (308)*, and *Public Garden (329)*.
Even his Symbolist works do not give up their meaning without difficulty, and we have to look for keys to them in his letters or in other pictures. The *Vision (308)*, the self-portrait *Les Misérables (309)* and *Human Misery (317)* are all underpinned by related considerations; what we know of *Woman with Pigs (320)* and *Fruit (312)* enriches our understanding of *Human Misery*. Sometimes a hidden detail directs us from one work to another, opening a whole new outlook onto Gauguin's intentions (thus we can connect one of the Breton women of the *Vision* to the portrait of Madeleine Bernard, *305*). Careful scrutiny of the often very subtle expressions of his figures offers another important indication of his intentions.
Out of pride, hauteur, or excessive sensitivity, Gauguin preferred not to make himself explicit, perhaps so that only those who deserved to could gain access to him. And though he often liked to be disliked, the 'mean' character that he presented to the world is invariably found to cover sweetness, warmth and poetry, as if these were the true raw material of his work. Better than any, he knew that the important things in this life should not be spoken, that life is made of mystery, and that, 'in general, where mystery is born, poetry begins[100]'.

'Plenty of mixtures in me' ■ Thus Gauguin summed up the complexity of his origins[101]. In him we find divergent traditions and seemingly incompatible traits of character side by side. No doubt it required a very secondary personality to manage all these contrasts, those of a nature at once aggressive and gentle, profoundly harmonious but tirelessly breaking down this harmony, aristocratic and plebeian, reflective but ready to act, frank but secretive, bold but circumspect. Leclerq discerned this clearly when he observed: 'Gauguin is as prudent as he is bold, his will is as strong as his temperament, and from this comes his great deliberation and above all his power, the capital virtue of the masters[102]'.
One is left to marvel at the subtlety with which these contrasts are magically fused in his work. The fusion bears witness both to profound lucidity and harmony and to an art of living steeped in poise and intelligence. 'Do what you like, as long as it's intelligent', was Gauguin's laconic summary[103].
Another admirable facet in Gauguin is the elegance of both his painting and his way of life: the elegance of unexpected pictorial solutions, abbreviated to the point of brutality, which are the product of a swift and unerring sense of decision; the elegance of a lofty and secretive character who was sparing in what he showed of himself, and required others to commit themselves at least to the degree in which he opened himself up to them.
Gauguin was also one of those whom it is difficult to resist. His aggression concealed a profound humanity, and was a way of making clear to the many the strength of his resolute, warm authority. His willpower carried the day because it was steeped in reflection, and because he was able, in the midst of such contrasts, to fashion such profound unity. He committed all his energy to the service of a single object, demonstrating in his life, as in his work, the same style and the same orientation, and he soon enough felt the right to declare 'I'm a great artist and I know it[104]'.

[1] 'Secondary' is used here in its psychological sense, that of a person who has no immediate reaction to present circumstances, subordinating them instead to considerations past and future.
[2] Émile Schuffenecker: 'Paul Gauguin', manuscript in the collection of the Getty Center for the History of Art.
[3] Draft letter, late 1884, sale, Christie's, Geneva, 14 May 2001, no. 94.
[4] Gauguin to Mette, late January-early February 1888 (Merlhès 139). 'What's in the house' probably meant works of art belonging to the family.
[5] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 12 August 1890, in V. Merlhès: *De Bretagne en Polynésie. Paul Gauguin. Pages inédites*, Tahiti, 1995, p. 49.
[6] Draft letter, late 1884, sale, Christie's, Geneva, 14 May 2001, no. 94.
[7] Gauguin to Theo Van Gogh, 27 October 1888 (Merlhès 175).
[8] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late May 1885 (Merlhès 79).
[9] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 8 October 1888 (Merlhès 168).
[10] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late July 1884 (Merlhès 50).
[11] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, May-June 1882 (Merlhès 23).
[12] Gauguin to De Monfreid, 11 March 1892 (Joly-Segalen III).
[13] Paul Gauguin: *Diverses choses*, pp. 265-266.
[14] *Diverses choses*, pp. 214-215. (In a note on that inset, the full quotation from Poe – and here, more specifically, Bacon – is given; this is a close translation of the maxim that Gauguin knew in French [Translator's note]).
[15] J.-M. Simon: 'La famille du peintre Gauguin', *La République du Centre*, 27 October 1959, p. 6.
[16] J. Leduc: *L'Enracinement de la République 1879-1918*, Paris, 1991, p. 12.
[17] D. Barjot, J.-P. Chaline, A. Encrevé: *La France au XIX^e siècle*, PUF, 1995, p. 344.
[18] 25 April 1855, Archives départementales du Loiret.
[19] According to the *Almanach social pour l'année 1840*, note in J.L. Puech's edition of F. Tristan: *Le Tour de France, Journal inédit 1843-1844*, Paris, 1973, p. 30.
[20] Paul Gauguin: *Avant et après*, p. 110.
[21] U. Marks-Vandenbroucke, unpublished thesis, Université de Paris, 1956, p. 24.
[22] *Le Tour de France*, p. 7.
[23] Marks-Vandenbroucke, thesis, p. 26.
[24] Marks-Vandenbroucke, thesis, pp. 28-29.
[25] F. Tristan: *Les Pérégrinations d'une paria*, 1838, republished 1979, p. 8.
[26] This information is from the 1821 letters published by Marks-Vandenbroucke, thesis, pp. 33-35.
[27] Marks-Vandenbroucke, thesis, p. 24.
[28] *Le Tour de France*, p. 9.
[29] *Les Pérégrinations d'une paria*, pp. 96-100.
[30] *Les Pérégrinations d'une paria*, p. 33.
[31] *Les Pérégrinations d'une paria*, p. 8.
[32] *Les Pérégrinations d'une paria*, p. 128.
[33] *Les Pérégrinations d'une paria*, p. 33.
[34] *Les Pérégrinations d'une paria*, p. 31.
[35] *Avant et après*, p. 84.
[36] *Avant et après*, p. 84.
[37] *Le Tour de France*, p. 31, note 15.
[38] *Le Tour de France*, p. 21.
[39] *Le Tour de France*, p. 265.
[40] *Le Tour de France*, p. 86.
[41] *Le Tour de France*, p. 52.
[42] *Le Tour de France*, see note 19.
[43] *Unions ouvrières* were probably intended to be more akin to cooperatives than trades unions.
[44] *Le Tour de France*, p. 126.
[45] *Le Tour de France*, p. 58.
[46] *Le Tour de France*, p. 128.
[47] *Le Tour de France*, p. 119.
[48] See J.L. Puech's notes in *Tour de France*, pp. 12-13, 161.
[49] *Le Tour de France*, p. 225.
[50] *Le Tour de France*, p. 234.
[51] *Le Tour de France*, p. 227.
[52] *Le Tour de France*, p. 37.
[53] *Le Tour de France*, pp. 37, 99, 142.
[54] *Le Tour de France*, pp. 158-159.
[55] *Le Tour de France*, p. 224.
[56] *Le Tour de France*, p. 100.
[57] Gauguin to Vincent Van Gogh, 7-9 September 1888 (Merlhès 163).
[58] Marks-Vandenbroucke, thesis, p. 50.
[59] *Avant et après*, pp. 85-87.
[60] *Avant et après*, p. 85.
[61] *Le Tour de France*, p. 20 (March 1843).
[62] *Avant et après*, p. 85.
[63] *Avant et après*, p. 85.
[64] *Avant et après*, p. 88.
[65] *Avant et après*, p. 88.
[66] *Avant et après*, p. 184.
[67] *Le Tour de France*, p. 31, note 16.
[68] J.-L. Reybaud: *Jérôme Paturot*, Paris, 1846, p. 201, a *roman de moeurs*.
[69] *Le Tour de France*, p. 277. Éléonore was, as it were, Flora's 'daughter by election'.
[70] Pola Gauguin: *Paul Gauguin, mon père*, Paris, 1938, pp. 3-4.
[71] *Les Pérégrinations d'une paria*, p. 178.
[72] *Avant et après*, p. 89.
[73] R. Rey: *Onze Menus de Paul Gauguin*, Geneva, 1950, p. 13.
[74] C. Chassé: *Gauguin et le groupe de Pont-Aven*, Paris, 1921, p. 54.
[75] Émile Schuffenecker: 'Paul Gauguin', manuscript in the collection of the Getty Center for the History of Art.
[76] Vincent Van Gogh to Émile Bernard, 2-6 November 1888 (B19a).
[77] G.-D. de Monfreid: 'Paul Gauguin', *La Revue provinciale*, November 1903, p. 384.
[78] *Avant et après*, p. 89.
[79] Aline's Testament, 13 November 1865.
[80] Letter from Marie Heegaard, July 1873 (Merlhès VII).
[81] Pola Gauguin: *Paul Gauguin, mon père*, Paris, 1938, p. 45.
[82] *Le Tour de France*, p. 58, cited above, p. XXV, note 43.
[83] Draft letter, late 1884, sale, Christie's, Geneva, 14 May 2001, no. 94.
[84] Draft letter, late 1884, sale, Christie's, Geneva, 14 May 2001, no. 94.
[85] Draft letter, late 1884, sale, Christie's, Geneva, 14 May 2001, no. 94.
[86] Draft letter, late 1884, sale, Christie's, Geneva, 14 May 2001, no. 94.
[87] C. Morice: *Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1919, pp. 25-26.
[88] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 16 October 1888 (Merlhès 172).
[89] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 22 December 1888 (Merlhès 193).
[90] Gauguin to Mette, March 1892 (Malingue CXXVII).
[91] *Avant et après*, p. 194.
[92] Gauguin to Mette, late January-early February 1888 (Merlhès 139).
[93] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 14 August 1888 (Merlhès 159).
[94] Gauguin to Madeleine Bernard, 15-20 October 1888 (Merlhès 173).
[95] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 31 January 1891, in V. Merlhès: *De Bretagne en Polynésie. Paul Gauguin. Pages inédites*, Tahiti, 1995, p. 73.
[96] J. Leclercq: 'La lutte pour les peintres', *Le Mercure de France*, Novembre 1894, p. 270.
[97] Vincent Van Gogh to Aurier, 12 February 1890 (626a).
[98] *Avant et après*, p. 186.
[99] Gauguin to Fontainas, September 1902 (Malingue CLXXVI), citing the words of J. Dolent in Dolent's 'Paul Gauguin', *Journal des artistes*, 22 February 1891, p. 49.
[100] Draft letter, late 1884, sale, Christie's, Geneva, 14 May 2001, no. 94.
[101] *Avant et après*, p. 89.
[102] Leclercq, 1894, p. 267.
[103] M. Denis: 'De Gauguin et de Van Gogh au classicisme', *L'Occident*, May 1909, p. 199.
[104] Gauguin to Mette, March 1892 (Malingue CXXVII).



Abbreviations

Various abbreviations:
A.I.v.G.: Archives Internationales de Van Gogh
BNF: Bibliothèque nationale de France
RMN: Réunion des musées nationaux
GBA: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*
In the text of an entry, **D** refers to *Documents and bibliography*, **E** to *Exhibitions*, and **P** to *Provenance*. References not including these letters direct the reader to the commentary.
c. [circa]: followed by a date means 'around'. However, in *Provenance*, it indicates the first date at which a work is known to have belonged to a collection, where the date of acquisition is unknown.
* is used to indicate an error or anomaly in an original document, e.g. a spelling mistake.
Gauguin's works are referred to by italicised titles and numbers, works in the Wildenstein catalogue of 1964 by the title, W and number.
/ within a signature indicates a new line

Abbreviations concerning EXHIBITIONS:
Exhibitions cited without title are solo *Gauguin* exhibitions.
Certain exhibitions that have toured three or more cities have had their titles abbreviated:
Oslo, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, 1926:
Paul Gauguin, His works in Scandinavian Collections, Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet, March; Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, April; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, April-May 1926.
Tokyo, Kyoto, and Fukuoka, 1969:
Paul Gauguin, Tokyo, Seibu Department Store, 23 August-30 September; Kyoto, National Museum of Modern Art, 5 October-7 November; Fukuoka, Prefectural Cultural Centre, 13 November-7 December 1969.
Washington D.C., Chicago and Paris, 1988-1989:
Gauguin, Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1 May-31 July 1988; Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, 17 September-11 December 1988; Paris, galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 10 January-24 April 1989.
Gauguin et les peintres de la Bretagne, Japan, 1992:
Kyoto, The Museum of Kyoto, 14 February-8 March; Saga, Saga Prefectural Art Museum, 13 March-5 April; Kurashiki, Kurashiki Art Museum, 10 April-5 May; Yamagata, Yamagata Museum of Art, 9 May-7 June; Gifu, The Museum of Fine Arts, 10 June-5 July 1992.
Gauguin and the School of Pont-Aven, United States, 1994-1995:
Indianapolis (Indiana), Indianopolis Museum of Art, 27 August-23 October 1994; Baltimore (Maryland), The Walters Art Gallery, 20 November 1994-15 January 1995; Montreal (Quebec), The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 9 February-9 April 1995; Memphis (Tennessee), The Dixon Gallery and Gardens, 7 May-2 July 1995; San Diego (California), San Diego Museum of Art, 29 July-24 September 1995.

Abbreviations for LETTERS and DOCUMENTS:
Published letters are cited in the form 'name of the editor, number or reference of the letter'. The full titles of these publications are given in the SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY.

They are abbreviated as follows:
Bailly-Herzberg
Cooper GAC or VG/PG
Joly-Segalen
Malingue
Merlhès [1984]
For Van Gogh's correspondence, only the number of the letter is cited, following G. Charensol's edition: *Correspondance complète de Vincent Van Gogh.*

Abbreviations concerning WORKS OF ART:
Where there is a catalogue raisonné of an artist's works, the individual work is cited as 'catalogue author, number of work'. Full titles can be found in the SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY.
Émile Bernard: LUTHI
Gustave Caillebotte: BERHAUT
Mary Cassatt: BREESKIN
Paul Cézanne: VENTURI or REWALD
Gustave Courbet: FERNIER
Edgar Degas: LEMOISNE
Eugène Delacroix: ROBAUT
Paul Gauguin: WILDENSTEIN (1964 edition, reduced to: W);
FIELD (monotypes); GRAY (sculpture and ceramics); GUÉRIN (engravings)
Armand Guillaumin: SERRET-FABIANI
Édouard Manet: ROUART-WILDENSTEIN
Manet's engravings: GUÉRIN-Manet
Claude Monet: D. WILDENSTEIN
Camille Pissarro: PISSARRO-VENTURI
Claude-Émile Schuffenecker: GROSSVOGEL
Paul Sérusier: GUICHETEAU
Georges Seurat: HAUKE
Vincent Van Gogh: LA FAILLE (reduced to: F) or HULSKER

The titles of certain works have been given in slightly abbreviated form. For full titles, see SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Abbreviations specific to the CHRONOLOGY are given on the introductory page of that section.

Catalogue

The Early Years (1873-1878)

We do not know when Gauguin began to paint. Since he entered the merchant navy at seventeen, he seems unlikely to have had time for painting before his return from military service in April 1871. His friendship with Claude Émile Schuffenecker (see *Flowers, 148*, inset), whom he met in 1872, may have encouraged him to start. Contact with the Arosa family must have been a further stimulus, since Gustave, his guardian, was an enthusiastic photographer, and both Gustave and Achille Arosa were enlightened collectors of modern art.

At all events, the first known pictures date back to 1873, as do the first eye-witness accounts; indeed, the first is from January of that year, when Marie Heegaard, a young Danish friend of the Arosas, recorded that Gauguin had painted her portrait (see *Portrait, 1*). That summer, Marie wrote to her sister Louise: 'Paul […] spends all his spare time painting, he's really making a lot of progress, last Sunday he painted for ten hours'[1]. Gauguin was now twenty-five; he was working as a stockbroker's clerk and could paint only in his spare moments, but was clearly a devoted amateur.

From these first six years – Gauguin's career took on a new impetus in 1879 – some forty-five paintings have survived. They offer an insight into the development of his style, which initially resembled that of Corot or Daubigny, but which had, by 1875, evolved toward a more modern manner, perhaps inspired by Boudin or Jongkind. Around 1877, his interest in these relatively free styles seems to give way to more tranquil studies of light in space. But dating these various manifestations is all but impossible.

The order presented here is necessarily hypothetical. Dated works are few; no coherent chronology can be based on the forms of Gauguin's signature; and, more important, the young Gauguin seems to have moved rapidly between one style and another.

Over the course of these years, Gauguin regularly produced works of relatively static composition and rather traditional brushwork, such as *Working the Land (4)*, the views of the *Seine (12)* and *(20)*, *Farm and Pond (38)*, *Still Life with Oysters (32)*, and *Portrait of Favre (43)*. These are all informed by somewhat 'classical' ambitions. In the many more modest studies, Gauguin moved unpredictably between a tranquil and a more animated manner. Thus the gentle *Clearing (6)* of 1873 is followed by the turbulent views of the Seine painted between 1875 and 1877. Little time elapsed between the rather experimental little works here catalogued around 1876 and the peaceful still lifes *41* and *42* of 1877 or *Landscape (39)*. Gauguin's manner sometimes alternated dramatically in the course of a single year: see the bouquets *34* and *35*.

It would therefore be wrong to seek a linear development in these early years; it seems possible that the very deliberate variations of brushwork and manner apparent in his later career were occurring even at this early stage.

The still lifes are particularly difficult to date accurately; we have allocated the majority of them to 1875-1876, while noting that a wider range of dates remains plausible.

1873-1874

It seems likely that the works of these two years were, for the most part, painted in the Saint-Cloud region; there the Arosas owned a country house at 14 rue du Calvaire (very few buildings have survived in this much altered street). Gauguin came to Saint-Cloud regularly, almost every Sunday, and took part in the great picnics organised for the

◀ *The Seine, Pont d'Iéna (12)*, detail.

young of the Arosa circle in the woods between April and September; these were lively society gatherings.
There he painted, often in the company of his guardian's daughter Marguerite, who was six or seven years younger. She, too, continued to work as an artist, though their friendship did not last[2].

Corot was clearly Gauguin's earliest model, though *Working the Land (4)*, is already more modern in kind, and *Clearing (7*, 1874*)* shows Gauguin attempting a more vibrant touch.
Perhaps the publicity surrounding the first Impressionist exhibition made him feel that greater freedom was in order.
At this stage, Gauguin often painted little studies, some of which have considerable charm, for example, the landscape, *8*; he then made faithful copies of them, hoping to demonstrate greater accomplishment in the second version (on these repeats, see *86*, inset).

1875

Though still an amateur, Gauguin was painting more and more – or, perhaps, destroying fewer and fewer of his works.
His subjects diversified, and his technique changed.
It seems possible that family life now restricted his sorties into the countryside; but the Gauguins had moved to an apartment close to the Seine, at 54 rue de Chaillot (see *Mette Asleep, 22*), and this enabled Gauguin to make a series of Parisian landscapes. He also made some portraits during this period.
He often sought greater freedom by adopting a dynamic notation perhaps inspired by Boudin, or by Jongkind (six of whose works were in Gustave Arosa's collection); but the prismatic light of Impressionism does not yet appear in his work.
He ventured on some large format paintings – *Landscape (13)* and *Crane on the Banks of the Seine (20)* – no doubt with the Salon already in mind; he took part in it the following year.
His signature generally included a rather calligraphic capital 'G'.

1876

Many paintings of uncertain date have been attributed to 1876. Only four dated works are known, and they are all very different in manner. These differences were becoming more systematic; Gauguin's experimentalism was coming to the fore. Studies of firm, static kind contrast with attempts to attain a more dynamic background; see the bouquets *33* and *35*. A few works whose entire surface is alive with movement, for example, the little riverscapes *29* and *30*, may also date from this year.
However, the Salon – at which he exhibited – was still on his mind when he painted *In the Forest (31)* and the still life *32*.
A new type of signature, simpler and more slender, appears in *Seascape (28)*.

1877-1878

In the absence of any paintings that can unhesitatingly be dated to 1878, we have taken the years 1877 and 1878 together. They are, in any case, rather mysterious years.
Few works are known, even allowing for the fact that certain studies hypothetically ascribed to 1875 or 1876 may in fact be from 1877 or 1878. Have other paintings been destroyed or lost? Or was Gauguin simply less prolific?
The little available evidence seems to suggest that, after the liberated brushwork of the preceding years, Gauguin returned to a smoother manner; his signature too grew simpler. He seems now to concentrate on rendering space and soft, delicate, slightly misty light-effects. Should the more static works be assigned to 1877 and those of more dynamic brushwork to 1878? Not necessarily. The co-existence of these two different manners is equally plausible.

The life Gauguin was then living is little documented. He was still working in the stock market, but in June 1877 he and his family moved from the smart Étoile quarter to Vaugirard. Vaugirard was an altogether more rustic environment – several paintings of 1879 and 1880 give us an accurate idea of the place – and a much more artistic one: Gauguin's neighbour Bouillot introduced him to sculpture (see *Vaugirard Market Gardens, 55*, inset on the impasse Frémin). One wonders whether Gauguin's new interest, sculpture, had partly supplanted painting in his affections; on the other hand, sculptures from this period are no less rare than paintings.

[1] Marie Heegaard to her sister Louise, mid-July 1873 (Merlhès VII).
[2] On Marguerite Arosa, see *Portrait of Marie Heegaard, 1*, and Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, 1984, pp. 323-324, note 5.

Forest Path (5), detail. ▶

1
Portrait of Marie Heegaard

Work known only through documentary evidence.

The Heegaard family enjoyed a lifelong friendship with Mette Gad, who had now become Gauguin's fiancée.
In late 1872, Anker Heegaard, an iron-master who directed a foundry at Fredericksweed in Copenhagen, invited Mette to accompany his daughter Marie to Paris. Mette was then twenty-two; her firm character, fairly fluent French and her experience (she had been governess to the Estrup family – see portrait, *22*) must have made her an ideal companion for Marie. We do not know how old Marie was when she left for Paris; we only know that she had a younger sister, Louise, of whom Mette too was very fond[1].
The two friends arrived in Paris in October 1872, and took up residence in a *pension* recommended, according to Malingue (D), by Madga Estrup: 51 rue des Martyrs. The landlady was the widowed Mme Fouignet de Pellegrue, who was (again according to Malingue) a friend of Zoé Arosa, the wife of Gauguin's guardian. The meeting between Gauguin and his future wife was thus brought about by the Arosas. Social life in the *pension*, where Marie and Mette shared a little fifth-floor room, was lively; on Saturday evenings there was music and dancing. Mme Fouignet had a fine voice and gave music and language lessons; her sixteen-year-old daughter, Marie, also had a great gift for music. There were Danish, German and French residents, and two of the Danes were painters. Mme Fouignet's rather trying character – she seems to have had a penchant for emotional blackmail – was not at this stage apparent.
Marie quickly decided to spend a year in Paris and take French lessons, while Mette, who had almost certainly not expected a long stay, returned to Denmark in spring 1873 after becoming engaged to Gauguin. Some of Gauguin's letters to Mrs Heegaard in this period would befit correspondence with a mother-in-law.
Marie's letters to her family, a few extracts of which have been published by Bodelsen (**D**), are the major source of information for this period. (Malingue[2], who had photocopies of the correspondence, provided translations of certain passages for the authors of this work.) We read of a succession of balls, which the two young friends found thrilling; of their growing friendship with the Arosas; of the brilliant society – much of it of Spanish origin – in which they moved; and of Paul Gauguin making his début as a painter.

Marie Heegard, Paris, 1872-1873.
Photo: Penabert (from Bodelsen, 1961).

Danish Friends

In 1879, Marie married Bjørn Stephensen, to whom she had been engaged for several years. As a wedding present, Paul and Mette Gauguin, who were certainly among their best friends, presented them with two little embroideries made to a design by Gauguin[1]. The friendship must have been closer than ever when the Gauguin family came to live in Copenhagen in late 1884. In any event, as the Gauguins' disastrous stay in Denmark was coming to an end, Bjørn helped Gauguin liquidate some of the business that he had undertaken for Dillies.
We know that the Stephensens owned a still life *92*; Gauguin's sketchbook record[2] of the sale of a Pontoise landscape to 'Heegaard' for FF 400 probably concerns Marie's parents.
Malingue tells us that Mrs Heegaard (along with Mrs Gad, Mette's mother) was one of the few people who did not come to despise Gauguin after 1885[3]. But it seems likely that all relations between the Heegaards and Gauguin ended with his departure in 1885; the same is true of the Stephensens.
In regard to Mette, they continued to have a protective role, almost, indeed, that of a second family. On her death in 1899, Mrs Heegaard left Mette 30,000 crowns[4], having already lent money to her while she was living in France with the impecunious Gauguin, as we know from one of Gauguin's letters of 1896.
We know that Marie died in 1907. Legal and registry office searches would no doubt turn up valuable information about these very close friends of Mette Gauguin.

[1] Bodelsen, 1961, figs. 3 and 5 (**D**).
[2] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 228.
[3] Malingue, 1987, p. 69 (**D**).
[4] Malingue, 1987, pp. 58-59 (**D**).

Portrait of Marie Heegard, drawing.
Private collection.
Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

Gauguin went painting at Saint-Cloud on Sundays with Marguerite Arosa, who was eighteen or nineteen (on Marguerite, see the introduction to this period). 'Last Sunday I went to Saint-Cloud […] For four hours I posed for Paul and Margot', Marie writes, 'Both portraits are quite good likenesses[3]. Or again: 'Paul and Margot again seized on me, I posed for three and a half hours for them. The portrait by Paul is a particularly good likeness, I'll bring them both back with me, you can judge for yourself'[4].
These two portraits have disappeared: Marie-Louise Wilcken, Marie's daughter, has never seen them[5]. But Marie's face is known to us from a few drawings by Gauguin, and from a photograph taken in Paris in 1872-1873, which she stuck into her album alongside those of her friends Paul and Mette.

[1] See the *postscript* from Mette to Louise on the back of a letter from Gauguin to Mrs Heegaard in 1873 (Merlhès 1).
[2] Malingue, 1987, p. 31 (**D**).
[3] Merlhès VIII, which we have re-dated to January 1873, since Marie adds 'for New Year's Eve [a Tuesday] we went to the Arosas'.
[4] Merlhès IX, no doubt also dating from early in the year.
[5] Malingue, 1987, p. 36 (**D**).

Documents and bibliography:
Letters from Marie Heegaard to her family, Merlhès VIII and IX, July-August 1873: see above.
Pola Gauguin: *Paul Gauguin, mon père*, Paris, 1938, pp. 26-29.
M. Bodelsen: 'Nyt lys over den unge Gauguin…', *Signum*, 1961, no. 2, pp. 32-41.
M. Malingue: *La Vie prodigieuse de Gauguin*, Paris, 1987, pp. 31-37.

Provenance:
Disappeared.

2
In the Forest, Saint-Cloud I

Canvas mounted on cardboard; in the lower right corner, the canvas is missing and the paint is applied directly on the board. 0.260 × 0.345.

In the Forest I must have been painted in 1873, since *In the Forest II (3)* shows the same subject, and is dated 1873. This little sketch is a record of the walks in the Saint-Cloud woodland organised by the Arosa family. The leaves seem slightly yellowed, but the white dress suggests summer; the foliage of *3* is, moreover, somewhat greener.
At this stage of his life, Gauguin often worked from little works painted *in situ* (see introduction on this period). This little

2

painting, more spontaneous than *3*, would seem to be directly from nature.
The atmosphere of these two works is more modern than that of *Path (5)*.
According to a handwritten note by Pola Gauguin in 1956, this painting was once fixed to the lid of a worktable owned by Mette Gauguin. There is a similar tradition regarding *Henhouse (40)*, which is said to have decorated Mette's worktable; a question therefore arises whether only one of these works was so treated, or whether Mette's worktable had a lid in two parts. Since the works are almost exactly of the same format, they might well have been fixed to symmetrical parts of the same piece of furniture.
In any case, it is easy to suppose that this little sketch had some sentimental value for Mette, recalling as it did the joyous outings that led to her engagement.

Documents and bibliography:
M. Bodelsen: 'The Dating of Gauguin's Early Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1965, pp. 308 (fig. 27) and 310.

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 1.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Pola Gauguin (the artist's son).
Given by Pola Gauguin to his friend the painter Viggo Svend Madsen, Copenhagen (Madsen, born, like Pola, in 1883, was the son of Karl Madsen, one of the first Danish critics to defend Impressionism and Gauguin).
E. Stroyberg, Copenhagen.
Sale, Copenhagen, Rasmussen, sale no. 72, March 1956, no. 50, bought by a Danish collector (Siegel?) who kept it till the sale of 1986.
Sale, London, Christie's, 2 December 1986, no. 306.
Private collection.

3
In the Forest, Saint-Cloud II

Canvas. 0.24 × 0.34
Signed and dated lower right:
p. gauguin. 73

The greenery in this repeat of *2* seems more intense than in the sketch from nature. Its signature resembles that of *Working the Land (4)*, which can be dated to September 1873.

Documents and bibliography:
M. Bodelsen: 'The Dating of Gauguin's Early Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1965, pp. 308 (fig. 28), 310, 312 (fig. 35).

Provenance:
F. Tenvig, Holmestrand, Norway.
Sale [Tenvig], Copenhagen, Rasmussen, 18 February 1965, no. 60 (to Folke Mortensen, Malmö, Sweden).
K. Ekstrand, Sweden.
Sale [Ekstrand], London, Sotheby's, 15 April 1970, no. 23 (bought in).
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 1 July 1987, no. 122.

3

4

4
Working the Land

Canvas. 0.505 × 0.815
Signed and dated lower left:
p. gauguin 7: 73
W5

This is the first large-format painting that we know of. The care with which it has been dated is exceptional; the signature, similar to that of *In the Forest (3)*, includes a '7', which, in the 19th century, referred to the month of September. The subject is compatible with that month, since the yellow areas could be stubble and the bright green quadrilateral an aftercrop of lucerne.
The nature of the little building centre right, almost directly below the little round tree, remains obscure; if its function could be elucidated, it might help to pinpoint the whereabouts of this scene.

The picture is somewhat reminiscent of the over-door paintings of the *Seasons* (Pissarro-Venturi 183-186, 1872) executed by Camille Pissarro for Achille Arosa, the brother of Gauguin's guardian. Gauguin must have been familiar with these works. Though he may, conceivably, have met his future master Pissarro at this stage (through the Arosas), his close friendship with Pissarro began later, in 1879.

C. Pissarro: *Spring* (Pissarro-Venturi 183). Private collection. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein 1964, no. 5 (repr.)
M. Bodelsen: 'The Dating of Gauguin's Early Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1965, pp. 308 (fig. 30), 310, 312 (fig. 37). We have not followed Bodelsen's conclusions as to dating.

Exhibitions:
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 1.

5

5
Forest Path

Canvas. 0.450 × 0.315
Signed and dated lower right:
p gauguin 73
W4

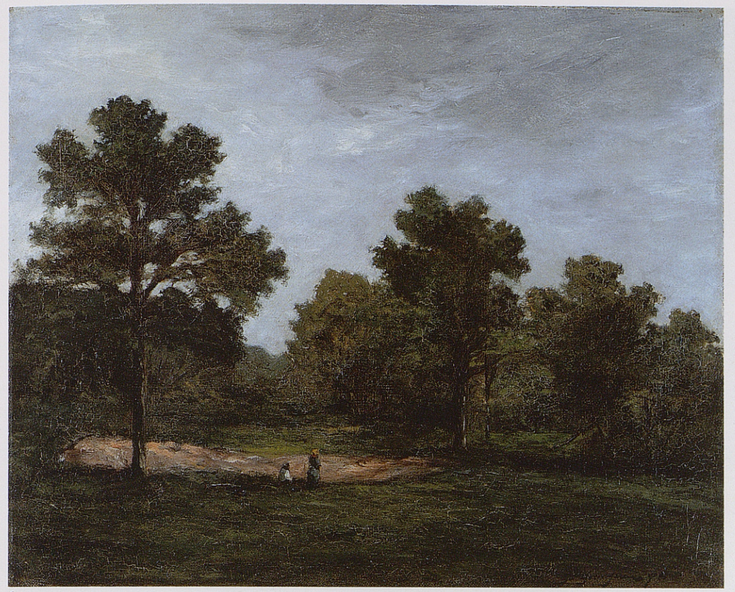
There is a touch of Corot about this little picture, probably painted in the woods of Saint-Cloud during a weekend spent with the Arosa family. The yellowing foliage may suggest an autumnal date. It will be remembered that several Corots featured in the collections of both Gustave Arosa and his brother Achille, and these collections played a considerable part in the formation of Gauguin's taste.
Gauguin's admiration for Corot was lifelong. In 1888, for example, he wrote to Schuffenecker: 'In a Corot landscape […] everything grows calmly and meditatively, and though the waters are deep, they have never drowned anyone. Corot's whole soul went into his landscapes; the air is imbued with kindness […]'[1]. In 1899, writing to De Monfreid, he describes Corot's sketches as 'perfectly charming'[2].

[1] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 22 December 1888 (Merlhès 193).
[2] Gauguin to De Monfreid, May 1899 (Joly-Segalen LIV).

Documents and bibliography:
M. Bodelsen: 'Nyt lys over den unge Gauguin […]', *Signum*, 1961, no. 2, pp. 34, 41.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 4 (repr.)
M. Bodelsen: 'The Dating of Gauguin's Early Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1965, pp. 307 (fig. 24), 310, 312 (fig. 36).

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 3.
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 2.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 3.
Tokyo, Kyoto and Fukuoka, 1969, no. 3.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Cincinnati Art Museum, 1971, no. 1.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Bengt Koch, Copenhagen, c. 1948.
Alice Tully, New York, c. 1960.
Alice Tully sale, New York, Christie's, 10 November 1994, no. 111.
Private collection.
(?) Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen – the evidence for this assertion is unknown to us.
Galerie Goldschmidt, Frankfurt am Main, c. 1920.
F. O. Soeding, Westphalia.
Sale [Soeding], Frankfurt am Main, Bangel, 15 May 1923, no. 70.
Dr Guggenheim, Berlin.
C. Marshall Spink, London.
Acquired by the Very Reverend E. Milner White, Dean of York, for donation to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge in 1952.
Cambridge (Great Britain), Fitzwilliam Museum – PD 20-5952.



6

6
Clearing I

Canvas. 0.38 × 0.46
Signed and dated lower right:
p. gauguin 7 [3?]

The second figure of the date is rather difficult to make out, but seems not to be a '4', though *Clearing II (7)*, whose subject is identical, is dated 1874. The figure might be a '3'; there is certainly a Corotesque atmosphere to this painting, which would fit quite well with an 1873 dating.
Though *Clearing I* might seem to be a more 'official' repeat of *7*, it may well have been executed before it; this seems somewhat more likely, given that Gauguin's manner was becoming increasingly lively.

Documents and bibliography:
V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, pl. I (before p.1), pp. 324-325, note 7 (3); we have not followed Merlhès' conclusions as to dating.

Exhibitions:
Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée départemental du Prieuré, 1985, no. 14.

Provenance:
(?) Sale, Paris, 10 April 1896, no. 33 (*Clearing in a Forest*, painting) – unless this was *7*.
Arthur Loth, Paris (Loth died in 1927; his grandson Claude Brière, believes him to have bought this work in a public sale).
Given by A. Loth to an aunt of Claude Brière.
Given by said aunt to Claude Brière, Le Bourget.
Sale [Brière], Paris, Drouot, 2 June 1965, no. 15, (bought in).
Bought in 1965 by:
Orléans (France), Musée des Beaux-Arts – MO/65/1439.

7
Clearing II

Canvas. 0.38 × 0.46
Signed and dated lower left:
p. gauguin 74
W8

Clearing II may be a repeat of *6*; it is slightly less sensitive, but more modern in its brushwork. This experimental trait would make it one of the very first repeats to evince Gauguin's deeply ingrained propensity for innovation (on repeats, see *Quarries, 86*, inset).

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 8 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'The Dating of Gauguin's Early Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1965, p. 310.
V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, pp. 324-325, note 7 (3).

7

8

Provenance:
(?) Sale, Paris, 10 April 1896, no. 33 (*Clearing in the Forest*, painting) – unless this concerns *6*.
Lolotte (according to the Sotheby's sale Catalogue of 1978, no date given).
Sale, Paris, Drouot, 19 June 1978, no. 13.
Enzo Cini, Saint-Paul-de-Vence.
Harry Krampf, Paris.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 6 December 1978, no. 201 (bought in).
Sale, Enghien, Hôtel des ventes, 18 November 1979, no. 20.
Sale, Paris, palais d'Orsay, 20 March 1980, no. 23.
Sale, Brest, Hôtel des ventes, 16 May 1982, no. 148.

8
Waterside Houses I

Oil on paper. 0.22 × 0.28
W6

This study for *9* may have been made during the winter of 1873-1874. Comparison of the two versions speaks eloquently of the natural gifts and limited proficiency of the young Gauguin.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 6 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'The Dating of Gauguin's Early Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1965, p. 310.

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 4 (with incorrect information on ownership).
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 2.

Provenance:
Mrs Asta Krohn, Copenhagen.
Bought from Asta Krohn by the Ny Carlsbergfondet in 1947 for donation to:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – IN 2616.

9
Waterside Houses II

Canvas. 0.26 × 0.33
Signed and dated lower right:
p gauguin 74
W7

This little work, whose date is very pale but nonetheless legible, must derive from the oil sketch on paper, *8*, and seems likely to have been painted in early 1874.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 7 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'The Dating of Gauguin's Early Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1965, pp. 309 (fig. 29), 310.

Exhibitions:
Choix d'un amateur [Spreiregen Collection], Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Céramique, 1960, no. 29.

Provenance:
Private collection, Denmark.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 14 December 1955, no. 182 (to Luard).
Very probably: sale, Paris, Charpentier, 5-6 June 1956, no. 49bis (*Landscape with River*, around 1875, canvas, 0.27 × 0.36).
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 3 December 1958, no. 142 (to Potter).
Jacques Spreiregen, Monaco, c. 1960.
Sale, London, Christie's, 3 December 1965, no. 90.
On the Italian art market, 1965.

9

10

11

10
On the Farm I

Canvas. 0.27 × 0.17

It seems likely that this small, unsigned sketch served as a study for *11*.

Exhibitions:
Said to have been exhibited at the Samlaren Gallery, Stockholm, in 1944.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Pola Gauguin.
Bought from P. Gauguin by Waldemar Stoud Platou, Stange (Norway).
Lill Platou Thorensen (daughter of above), Saltsjo-Boo (Sweden), c. 1978.
Terje Stoud Platou Thorensen, Sunne (Sweden).
Sale, Stockholm, Bukowski, 29 May 1986, no. 218.
Private collection, Germany.
Sale, London, Christie's, 10 December 1997, no. 132.
On the German art market, c. 1999.

11
On the Farm II

Canvas. 0.35 × 0.27
Signed and dated lower right:
p gauguin 74

Must be a repeat of *10*.

Provenance:
Marcel Bernheim, Paris.
Sale, Enghien, Hôtel des ventes, 13 December 1981, no. 131.
Sale, Enghien, Hôtel des ventes, 21 November 1989, no. 2.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 17 October 1990, no. 19.

12
The Seine, Pont d'Iéna

Canvas. 0.650 × 0.925
Signed and dated lower right:
P. Gauguin 1875
W13

This view of the right bank of the Seine was painted from a point level with the rue de la Manutention; in the background, Chaillot hill is visible, painted as it was before the construction of the former Trocadéro, which was inaugurated at the World Exhibition of 1878. It was thus painted barely five minutes' walk from the apartment at 54 rue de Chaillot, to which the Gauguins had moved in January 1875 (see *Mette Asleep, 22*).
According to the meteorological records of the parc Saint-Maur, it snowed much less during the first few months of 1875 than it had in December 1874[1]. There must nevertheless have been sufficient snow for Gauguin to paint this work. It probably numbers among the very first pictures that he painted after his move.

[1] Meteorological records of 1874-1875, pp. 59-63.

Documents and bibliography:
Boussod register (Rewald, *GBA*, 1973, p. 91): '*View of the Seine, Snow Effect*. 90.5 × 63.25. [Bought from] Vollard 14-10-93 [FF] 500; [sold to] Bernheim 27-12-98 [FF] 300'.
Gauguin to Mette, October 1893 (Malingue CXL): 'at the moment the dealers are picking up my old paintings looking for low prices. Even a picture of snow painted at the Trocadéro, which I gave to Mme Uribe Helena, went for 500 f'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 13 (repr.)
J. Rewald: 'Theo Van Gogh, Goupil and the Impressionists', *GBA*, 1973, pp. 83-84 (repr.), 91.

Exhibitions:
Gauguin et ses amis, Paris, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1934, no. 46.

The Seine from the Debilly footbridge (opposite the end of rue de la Manutention).

New York, Wildenstein, 1936, no. 1.
Cambridge (Massachusetts), Fogg Art Museum, 1936, no. 1.
Baltimore (Maryland), The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1936, no. 1.
Paris, Orangerie, 1949, no. 1.
Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1949-1950, no. 1.
Lausanne, Musée cantonal des Beaux-Arts, 1950, no. 31.
Houston (Texas), The Museum of Fine Arts, 1954, no. 2.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 4.
Vienne, Belvedere, 1960, no. 1.

12

13

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to Helena Uribe (a relation of his brother-in-law): see Gauguin's letter, D above.
Sale, Paris, 28 May 1892, no. 39.
Vollard (one of his very first purchases).
Bought from Vollard by Boussod and Valadon, 14 October 1893 (See Boussod register, D above: Vollard sold Boussod this very early painting on the same day as he bought a much more modern work, *Calvary, W328*).
Sold by Boussod to Bernheim-Jeune, 27 December 1898.
Sale, Ch. V. [Charles Vignier], Paris, 9 February 1906, no. 31.
Albert Bernier sale, Paris, Drouot, 23 November 1910, no. 16 (to Libaude).
Paul Jamot, Paris; bequeathed to the Louvre in 1939.
Musée du Louvre, 1941; exhibited in the Jeu de Paume galleries.
Transferred to the Musée d'Orsay in 1986.
Paris, Musée d'Orsay – RF 1941-27.

13
Landscape with Poplars

Canvas. 0.80 × 1.00
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 75
W11

One of the earliest known large-format paintings by Gauguin.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 11 (repr.)
M. Bodelsen: 'The Dating of Gauguin's Early Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1965, p. 310.

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 6.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Cincinnati Art Museum, 1971, no. 2.

Provenance:
Clara Gauguin (wife of Jean Gauguin, the artist's son), Copenhagen.
Bekgaard, Copenhagen.
Sale, Copenhagen, Winkel & Magnussen, 1 April 1936, no. 51 (to Axel Bruun, Copenhagen).
L.F. Foght, Copenhagen, 1936.
Sale, L.F. Foght (deceased), London, Sotheby's, 6 July 1960, no. 167 (to Mitchell).
John Mitchell, London.
Mr and Mrs Kurt F. Pantzer, Indianapolis (Indiana), 1960.
Bequeathed by the Estate of Kurt F. Pantzer in 1982 to:
Indianapolis (Indiana), Indianapolis Museum of Art, Bequest by Estate of Kurt F. Pantzer, Sr. – 82.54.

14
In the Forest, Viroflay

Canvas remounted on panel. 0.465 × 0.330
Signed and dated, with location, lower right: *Viroflay. p. Gauguin 1875*
W12

Viroflay is a mere five kilometres from the Arosa's country residence at Saint-Cloud, where Gauguin so often stayed (see introduction to this period).
When we consider the large-format paintings produced by Gauguin in 1875, in particular the view of the *Seine (20)*, or *Landscape (13)*, it seems unlikely that this little picture was chosen for the Salon of 1876, at which a Gauguin painting entitled *In the Forest, Viroflay* was exhibited. The Salon painting is probably an unknown work, here catalogued as *31* in 1876; it may have been a larger version of this piece.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 12 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'The Dating of Gauguin's Early Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1965, p. 310.

Exhibitions:
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 2 bis.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 2.

Provenance:
Marie Uribe-Buenaventura, Bogotá (Gauguin's sister).
Sñra. Santa-Fe, Bogotá (daughter of above).
Hernando Uribe Holguin, Bogotá, c. 1960.
Hernando Uribe Holguin sale, London, Sotheby's, 1 December 1965, no. 133 (to Tillson).
On the British art market, c. 1966.

14

15
Landscape with Curtain of Trees

Canvas. 0.315 × 0.480
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 1875 [?]

This work is known to us only through the photograph published by Merlhès. On the photograph, the signature is difficult to read.

15

Documents and bibliography:
V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, pl. 1 (before p. 1); the author gives the date 1875.

Provenance:
Private collection, c. 1984.

16
Cail Factories and Quai de Grenelle

Oil on wood. 0.28 × 0.41
Signed and dated lower right:
p. Gauguin 75

The view is from the left bank, a little downstream of the pont d'Iéna, which Gauguin would have had to cross on his way from his apartment at 54 rue de Chaillot, ten minutes walk away. Visible at 15 quai de Grenelle is one of the large and flourishing factories of mechanical engineers Cail et Cie, which produced boilers and equipment for distilleries[1]. In the background, on the right, we see one of the travelling cranes used for unloading raw materials.
Two other pictures, *17* and *18*, are painted from more or less the same place, and *20* shows the same group of houses in its background.

[1] See the commercial directory of 1875.

Provenance:
Galerie Petit, Paris.
Sale, Paris, Galliera, 12 June 1975, no. 61.
Danièle Veuthey, Chambesy, Switzerland, 1985.
Private collection, Switzerland, c. 1987.

Bir-Hakeim Bridge had not yet been built in 1875.

16

17

17
Port de Grenelle I

Oil on wood. 0.32 × 0.46

This little panel, showing the same scene as *16*, offers a glimpse of the pont de Grenelle in the background, where it meets the allée des Cygnes (far right).
Unsigned but remarkably vivid, it must be the study from life on which Gauguin based the other version of this motif, *18*. The manner of these works suggests that Gauguin had been contemplating studies by Boudin and Jongkind.

Provenance:
Sale, Copenhagen, Winkel & Magnussen, 3 November 1943, no. 364.
John Ake T. Wiberg, Stockholm.
Sale, London, Christie's, 19 March 1991, no. 10.
Sale, London, Christie's, 30 November 1993, no. 113.

Suffren Port, with the Passy bank on the far side.
Motif of no. 19, see p. 20.

18

18
Port de Grenelle II

Oil on wood. 0.30 × 0.44
Signed and dated lower right:
p. Gauguin 75
W15

This must be the signed repeat of *17*. When working up his studies, Gauguin obviously aspired to attain rather greater 'weight' (on repeats, see *Quarries, 86*, inset).

Documents and bibliography:
C. Morice: *Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1919, p. 78 (repr.).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 15 (repr.).

Provenance:
There is a tradition that Cognet was a stockbroker and a contemporary of Gauguin at the Bourse. He does not, however, appear under this heading in the commercial directories of 1880 and 1900. He is also said to have been a friend of the dealer and art-lover Eugène Blot, who often had dealings with Theo van Gogh.
The existence of a Druet-Vizzavona photo (*3182*) confirms that this work was in France at some point during the first third of the century.
Sold by one of Cognet's heirs in 1960.
Tiffen, Paris.
Sale, Paris, Hôtel George V, 14 December 1992, no. 38.
Sale, Paris, Hôtel George V, 19 December 1994, no. 30.
Private collection, Switzerland.

19
The Seine Opposite the Quai de Passy

Oil on paper mounted on cardboard.
0.325 × 0.500

The wooded rise – still fairly bare of construction – on the far side of the river is in

19

all probability Passy. If so, this view is from the left bank, looking downstream, and was painted in what is now the port de Suffren, immediately below the pont d'Iéna, slightly upstream of the site from which *16, 17* and *18* were painted.
Gauguin reworked the woody bank for *20*. An 1875 dating sits well with the technique of this little study from nature.

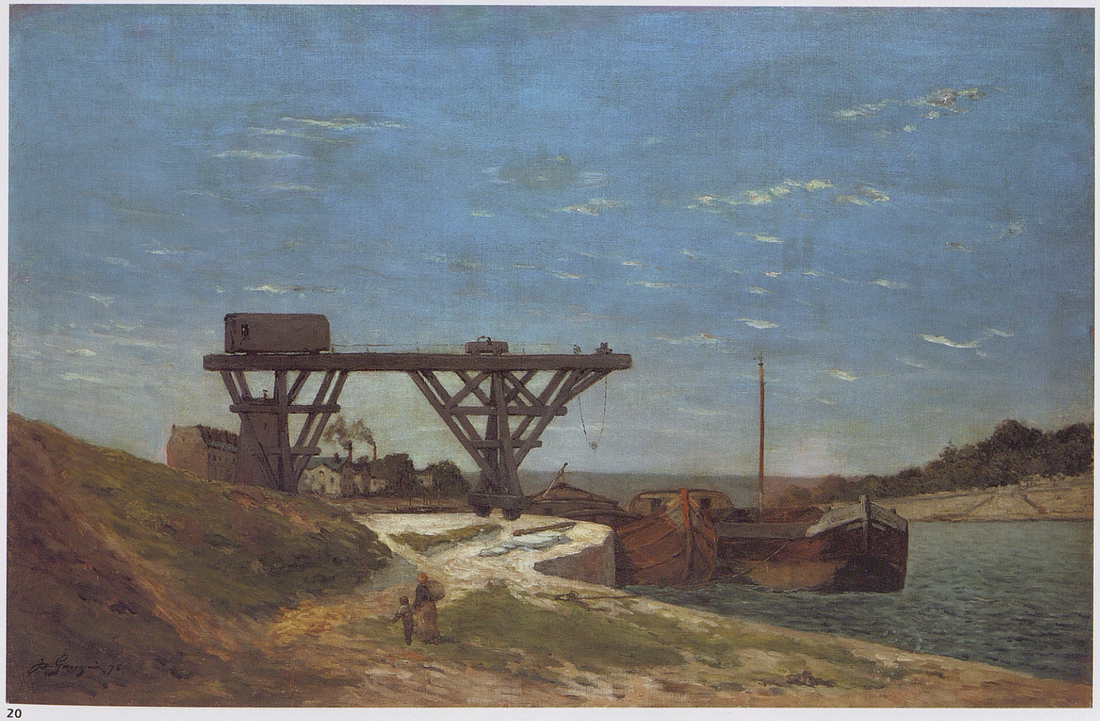
Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Mrs Pola Gauguin.
Mrs Holstein-Ratlou, Copenhagen, c. 1945.
Paul Christiansen, Copenhagen.
Sale, [Christiansen], Copenhagen, A.B. Rasmussen, 6 April 1976, no. 15 (bought in).
Herman Igell, Stockholm, 1976.
Mrs Igell-Thingström, Nacka (Sweden), 1978.
Sale, Munich, Ketterer, 11 June 1996, no. 2.
Mr Kuniaki Morimoto, Japan.

20
Crane on the Banks of the Seine

Canvas. 0.81 × 1.16
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 75
W14

This is one of the first large-format works that Gauguin painted. In the French edition, we voiced our suspicion that it was a montage of several earlier studies, and so it has proved; the central component, a previously unknown oil study on paper of the travelling crane, has since reappeared and will feature in a supplement to this catalogue. The quai de Grenelle is visible through the arch of the crane in both the present work and the study on paper, which was painted a little upstream from *16, 17* and *18*. The crane therefore stood in port de Suffren, which lay between the pont d'Iéna and the more recent pont de Bir-Hakeim; trade in building materials was one of the area's principal activities. By 1910 it had already vanished, since Pawlowski's album of that date does not mention it[1].

Opposite the port de Suffren lies the berge de Passy, which is not visible in the crane study, but appears in the present work as inspired (with some variations) by a second oil study on paper of almost identical dimensions, here catalogued as *19*.
The montage involved several topographical falsifications, which had originally led us to suspect its existence. These include the excessive convergence between the quai de Grenelle and the quai de Passy, the fact that the allée des Cygnes (opposite the Cail factories) has been completely obscured, and the extraordinarily uncluttered line of the horizon. By contrast, the improbable profile of the bank in the foreground (on



20

which we remarked in the French edition) is simply an over simplified version of a sandy slope which, in the oil study on paper of the travelling crane, seems much more natural.
The possibility arises that the young Gauguin painted this rather large and laborious composition with the Salon in mind. It was almost certainly painted in the studio.

[1] Pawlowski: *Les Ports de Paris* (27 photographic views), 1920, pp. 40-41.

Documents and bibliography:
D. Sutton: 'Notes on Paul Gauguin apropos a Recent Exhibition', *The Burlington Magazine*, March 1956, p. 86, note 28.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 14 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 5.
Houston (Texas), The Museum of Fine Arts, 1954, no. 1.
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, and London, Tate Gallery, 1955, no. 4.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 5.

Provenance:
William Lund, Copenhagen (Lund was a relative of Mette. It would be interesting to know more about him. See also *View of Rouen, 123*).
Mrs Vibeke Lund, Copenhagen, c. 1948.
Mr and Mrs Otto L. Spaeth, New York.
The Spaeth Foundation, New York, c. 1954.
Private collection, USA, 1980.

21
Emil Gauguin

Canvas. 0.28 × 0.27
Signed and dated upper right:
p. Gauguin 75
W10

We know this portrait only through reproductions in Pola Gauguin's memoir (**D**) and in *Weltkunst* (**D**).
Emil, the first child of Paul and Mette Gauguin, was born on 31 August 1874 in the apartment at 28 place Saint-Georges, just nine months after their marriage (22 November 1873).

21

This little painting shows Emil in the year of his baptism, which followed the Lutheran rite, and was held in Ledoux's handsome Church of the Redemption (rue Chauchat), where Mette and Paul had been married. The ceremony took place on 8 May 1875; as we know from a letter[1], Emil's godfather, the Norwegian painter Frits Thaulow (Mette's brother-in-law), could not be present in Paris before that date. (On Thaulow, see *Portrait, 44*). The godmothers were Marie Uribe, Gauguin's sister, and one Elizabeth Möller, no doubt a friend of Mette's.
Though the baby Emil was often sketched by his father, none of the known drawings is a direct study for this portrait. Gauguin again used him as a model c. 1877-1878 for some sculptures and a painting, *45*, before Emil and his father went their separate ways.

[1] Gauguin to Mrs Heegaard, 12 September 1874 (Merlhès 5).

Documents and bibliography:
J. de Rotonchamp: *Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1906, reprinted 1925, p. 18.
Pola Gauguin: *Paul Gauguin, mon père*, 1938, repr. facing p. 68 (photo Voering, Oslo).
'Wer kann die Auskunft geben, wo sich untenstehendes Bild befindet?', *Weltkunst*, 15 October 1959, p. 48 (repr.).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 10 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Moderne Kunstkring, Amsterdam, Suasso Municipal Museum, 1912, no. 13.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen (according to Rotonchamp, **D** above).
Probably: Private collection, Norway, given that Pola Gauguin (1938) published a Norwegian photo; perhaps even the collection of Pola Gauguin, since he lived for a long time in Norway.
Matthiesen Gallery, Berlin.
Jakob Goldschmidt, Berlin.
Seized by the Nazis with the rest of the Goldschmidt Collection, and auctioned in 1941.
J.G. sale, Berlin, Hans W. Lange, 25 September 1941, no. 39.
Disappeared.

Emil as adult. Photo: Laurberg (former Malingue Archives).

Emil

A photo of Emil, somewhat later than the portrait, appears in the *Chronology* (1885). Emil was separated from his parents and taken to live outside France when he was around six years old. Mette was now pregnant for the fourth time, this time with Jean, who was born in April 1881. Was she feeling overburdened? At all events, she seems to have left Emil with a friend during a visit to Denmark around 1880. The friend was Karen Lehmann. Rostrup[1] tells us that Karen was born Wiehe, whereas Malingue[2] describes her as the wife of the great actor Wiehe, and mother of a child called Wigel, born, like Emil, in 1874. Malingue places this episode between 1875 and 1880; however, Emil features in certain portraits of around 1877-1878 and disappears from his father's works only in the 1880s.
According to Pola Gauguin, 'Emil stayed at the Söro Academy, where he had been placed by the Moltke family, till he was eighteen'[3]. And Emil's studies were indeed paid for by the influential Count Frederick von Moltke, whose residence and excellent collection are mentioned in several of Gauguin's letters, and in *Avant et après*[4] (a photo of the Moltkes is reproduced in the *Chronology*: 1880).
The extent of the Moltke's investment in Emil is explained by the fact that the Countess Magda, born Estrup, was a friend of Mette Gauguin's, and had at one stage been her pupil. Magda was, moreover, childless. The arrangement is said almost to have foundered when Magda Moltke's strict Protestant principles were offended by the free-thinking Paul and Mette; it was finally rescued by Emil himself, who, while staying with the Moltkes, showed himself 'right-minded', that is, willing to accept Madga Moltke's views on religion.
The Moltkes also agreed to fund Emil's higher education. In 1893, Mette wrote to inform Schuffenecker that 'my friend the Countess [...] has continued to support him after his *baccalauréat*, and tomorrow we shall decide where he should complete his studies in order to become a civil engineer'[5]. A short while later, Emil was attending the École Polytechnique[6].

When he was ten, Emil had raised his father's hopes – Gauguin thought his eye 'very interesting'[7] – but he never showed signs of developing into an artist, as his brothers Jean and Pola did. On the other hand, he did follow in his father's footsteps when, still a young man, he decided to leave the surroundings of his youth, and went abroad. In 1900, we find Mette writing to Schuffenecker: 'Emil left for Bogotá[8] the day before yesterday, he didn't want to finish his studies [...] perhaps he will become a man over there? He knows enough to be able to work as a civil engineer, he's a hard-working fellow, I'm sure he'll be able to earn his living'[9]. Mette later visited Colombia, and her letters, some of which bear the printed letterhead *Ingeniero Civil*, show that her predictions were borne out ('he seems prosperous') and announce that he is to marry a Colombian who 'speaks nothing but Spanish'[10]. Later we hear of Emil as an engineer in Philadelphia[11], and later again in Florida, where he died in 1954 or 1955. He left a widow, Patricia, and two (or three?) descendants, whose first names – Aline and Émile – testify to his concern with family tradition.

His size astonished his father, who remarked '1m 96 at eighteen and a half: promising'[12], Emil was a rather handsome man. His sense of honesty prevented him from adopting the same attitude as his brothers and mother when they attempted to obtain from De Monfreid the rights to the manuscript *Noa Noa*. Indeed, he stressed the gratitude the family owed to De Monfreid for services rendered to Gauguin's *œuvre*[13]. The preface that he wrote in 1921 for the English translation of *Avant et après* shows a clear, uncluttered mind, truth-loving and respectful of others. Gauguin's words, he wrote, 'transfigure and make vivid my recollections of my father, recollections all too dim and few. They bring sharply into focus for me his goodness, his humour, his insurgent spirit, his clarity of vision, his inordinate hatred of hypocrisy and sham'[14]. The discernment shown in these lines speaks well of Emil's character. His father found him rather too Danish for his own taste, but perhaps he would have got on with him well enough; Gauguin knew him, after all, so little.

[1] Rostrup was told this much later, and this account was published by M. Bodelsen in 'Gauguin, the Collector', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, p. 601, note 32.
[2] M. Malingue: *La Vie prodigieuse de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1987, p. 40.
[3] M. Malingue: 'Encore du nouveau sur Gauguin', *L'Oeil*, October 1959, p. 32.
[4] Paul Gauguin: *Avant et après*, p. 146.
[5] Mette Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 15 September 1893, in M. Malingue: *Lettres de Gauguin à sa femme et à ses amis*, Paris, 1946, p. 327.
[6] Mette Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 6 May 1895, in Malingue, 1946, p. 325.
[7] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 17 March 1895 (Merhlès 75).
[8] His godmother Marie Uribe was then living in Bogotá.
[9] Mette Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 11 June 1900, in Malingue 1946, p. 328.
[10] Mette Gauguin to De Monfreid, 12 March 1906-13 March 1907, in J. Loize: *Les Amitiés du peintre Georges-Daniel de Monfreid...*, 1951, nos. 471-479.
[11] Tabarant: 'Gauguin intime', *Bulletin de la Vie artistique*, January 1925, pp. 5-6.
[12] Gauguin to De Monfreid, spring 1893 (Joly-Segalen XIII).
[13] J. Loize: 'Les sept visages de Noa Noa', *Journal de la Société des océanistes*, December 1949, p. 151; J. Loize: *Noa Noa par Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1966, p. 102.
[14] E. Gauguin: *Intimate Journals*, New York, 1921, no page number.

Gauguin and Emil, detail of an 1891 photo. (Wildenstein Institute Archives).

22

22
Mette Asleep on a Sofa

Canvas. 0.24 × 0.33
Signed lower right: *p. Gauguin*
W96

The manner of the painting and the form of Gauguin's signature date this work to 1875 with some certainty. Paul and Mette Gauguin had just left their three-room flat on the place Saint-Georges, which had proved too small for them after Emil's birth in August. They moved to the Étoile quarter, to a third-floor flat at 54 rue de Chaillot (now no. 30) between the former church of Saint-Pierre and the corner of avenue Marceau. Having signed a three-year lease in January 1875, they spent two and half years at this address before moving to Vaugirard in June 1877.
The scene in this painting is therefore set at 54 rue de Chaillot. The quality of the light, the bare walls and the painting propped up against the wall suggest that Gauguin had already established a studio there, perhaps in one of the three bedrooms; the flat comprised five main rooms and many service areas.
This is the first known painting of Mette, whose solid silhouette and fair hair we recognise; Pola Gauguin described her hair as 'fair, but not, to be honest, of any very clear shade'[1]. It seems that Mette was somewhat recalcitrant about posing for her husband, and almost all Gauguin's sketches show her asleep. Perhaps this was her way of recovering from the fatigue of pregnancy. Gauguin waited almost ten years before making another portrait of Mette; for the events to come, see *154*.

[1] Pola Gauguin: *Paul Gauguin, mon père*, Paris, 1938, p. 36.

Documents and bibliography:

Unpublished letter from Paté, antique-dealer in Rouen, 22 May 1932 (copied out by Dr Boidin in his testimony cited below): 'On Tuesday, 3 May 1932, I discovered in the auction rooms in Rouen […] a portrait of a blonde woman, later presumed to be the portrait of Mme Gauguin [description of this work and of four other paintings in the same lot]. That afternoon I bought the whole lot and subsequently learnt that these pictures came from a former Rouen tradesman, a clockmaker and jeweller, and from the decision to clear out his attic, in which these pictures and all sorts of clockmaking materials had long slept. / I contacted the former owner,

Young Marrieds

Gauguin and his wife were of diverse extraction. Gauguin's ancestry (see the *General Introduction* and *Chronology* for details) was a contrasting and colourful mix of smallholder and aristocracy, transcending borders and perhaps racial barriers, while Mette was of more traditional bourgeois stock.

Paul Gauguin, January 1873. Photo: Carjat.

His ■ On the Gauguin side, he came from a line of Orléans vine-growers and market-gardeners whose thrift had gained them a modest fortune. Their slow social climb was at length rewarded with an intellectual scion: Clovis Gauguin, the artist's father. Clovis worked as a journalist for the *National*, a republican paper whose hour of glory was 1848, when it was very close to the new government. Clovis consequently numbered among his friends many journalists and politicians whose names have gone down in history for their role before or during the Second Republic.
Nor was there any lack of charisma in Gauguin's maternal line. Aline Chazal was the daughter of an engraver. Her mother, Flora Tristan, was 'a strange woman,' according to her grandson; 'a blue-stocking, socialist and anarchist' on the one hand, on the other 'a very pretty and very noble lady'[1]. Adventuress, author, and precursor of socialism and feminism, she was born to a noble Spanish family whose line can be traced back to the 14th century. One of its branches, having emigrated to Peru, seems from time to time to have strayed outside its caste and ensured a mixed-race heredity.

The combination in both ancestral lines of political activism, libertarian tendencies, and an intellectual milieu led to the meeting of Gauguin's parents.
Aline, too, was, according to her son, 'ever so pretty' and her style 'very Spanish nobility'[2]; she certainly had the attitudes of her caste. On one occasion, finding that Paul had obtained some marbles by swapping, she cried out in scorn 'What? *My* son, and trading?!' Flora, too, deemed that there was 'Nothing so sterile, so repugnant, as trade attitudes'[4].
'Trade', nevertheless, caught up with Aline; some twelve years later, after the death of her husband, she was forced by her penury to set up as a dressmaker, and in her will, she suggested that her daughter Marie should learn a trade if her guardian felt it right.
Though quite the grand lady, Aline was also notably pragmatic and open-minded. She had moved in various circles: the intellectual and political avant-garde frequented by her parents; then, after her husband's death, the aristocratic ruling class of Peru, when she moved to Lima with Paul and Marie; when she returned to Orléans, the relatively modest middle-class of her husband's family; and finally, thanks to her friendship with the Arosa family, the enlightened upper middle-class of the stock-market. By taking up a trade, she necessarily extended her social range still further. But by ensuring that the Arosas acted *in loco parentis* after her death, she finally opted for the upper crust. The Arosas proved a very judicious choice.

It was in this cultivated and dynamic milieu that Paul Gauguin encountered Mette Gad. When the young Gauguin left the navy, Arosa found him a job in the stock market. For the time being Paul was anxious to make a career for himself and, for the most part, willing to play the role expected of him. But only 'for the most part'. In 1873, Marie Heegaard thought that 'he was rather lacking in polish'[5], while Gauguin described himself in a letter to Mrs Heegaard as 'rather surly'[6]. Later, he preferred to emphasise the least middle-class aspects of his ancestry. 'Plenty of mixtures in me,' he noted in *Avant et après*, 'Rough sailor – True – But there's noble blood too, and of more than one race'[7].

Her ■ A more purely middle-class note predominated in Mette's ancestry. The only admixtures in the Gads' Danish blood came from Norwegian ancestry on her father's side, which could trace its line back to the 18th century[8]. Mette Sofie's father, Henry Theodor Gad (1816/17-1860) was a district judge in the little island of Laesö in the Kattegat, where his daughter was born on 7 September 1850. He subsequently held various legal posts (*byfoged, birkedommer, kancellirad* and *herredsfoged*), most of them in Jutland. The law seems to have been a family tradition with the Gads, since Theodor's brother, Henry Christian (1807-1865), also worked as a *byfoged*, in the north of Jutland.
On the maternal side, Mette's family seems to have advanced steadily towards greater respectability. Her grandmother, Pauline, née Paulssen, was the daughter of a country blacksmith; after a first marriage to the miniaturist Lund, she married Lieutenant-Colonel Paulssen. Her daughter, Johanne Emilie Sophie (1822-1900) seems to have been born of the first marriage[9]. She, too, married twice. Her first husband was a customs officer; after the divorce, she married Theodor Gad the judge. On Gad's death in 1860, Emilie and her five children moved in with her widowed mother.
It was therefore in Pauline Paulssen's comfortably middle-class flat in Nyhavngade, in the centre of Copenhagen, that Mette spent most of her youth. Pola Gauguin described it thus: 'It bore the stamp of good bourgeois taste; the solid mahogany furniture was typical of Danish civil-servants' residences. A little cold and impersonal, it embodied the calm and order expected in such homes'[10]. No irony is intended. This apartment, and a second one in Frederiksberg Allé, where Emilie Gad lived in the 1880s, were no doubt paradigmatic of the Danish apartments that Gauguin so detested[11].

Mette Gad, c. 1870 (from Beaute, 1988).

Bourgeois as it undoubtedly was, the Gad family was nonetheless liberal in its opinions and relatively open-minded, at least in the opinion of Pola Gauguin. In one respect, the maternal lines of both Gauguin and Mette were alike; when the men died, the women had to take up a new role. No doubt, too, money was shorter after Theodor's death. All this encouraged Mette to take control of her own life while still quite young; having learnt French, at seventeen she took the post of governess to the family of the Minister of State and head of the Danish Conservative Party, Jacques Estrup. 'This was the man who ruled Denmark,' Pola Gauguin recorded, '[…] It amused the President to present his guests to the governess and see how fearlessly she [Mette] took part in the conversation, explaining the liberal principles that she had learnt from her family to some ultra-conservative member of the government'[12]. Mette had inherited the uninhibited frankness of the women of her family.

Mette was strong-willed and efficient, and much less 'feminine' and coquettish than her younger sisters, Ingeborg (see *44*) and Pylle. She was not much at home with her emotions. Her much-admired father died when she was only ten, and there was little

Pauline, Mette, and Ingeborg Gad, 1870
(from Beaute, 1988).

it must be said that Mette lacked them. She was also a product of the bourgeoisie, in a way that Gauguin never quite was.

Neither had much in the way of money. Gauguin reported that, 'when we were married, her dowry consisted of some *chemises* and a set of six knives and forks'[18]. We know that he had inherited around FF 10,000 from his mother in life insurance, annuities and bonds (a little less than his sister Marie, because his had been the more expensive education), and half the family house in Orléans (which was sold shortly after he reached his majority, no doubt at his initiative, for FF 14,000; he received half). We do not know whether he still had this money when he married, but, as a young stockbroker, he could in any case expect to make his fortune.

affection in her relationship with her mother. These things, combined, perhaps, with an unhappy affair of the heart (with an officer in the Danish navy, identified by Malingue as her first cousin, the future *kontreadmiral* Urban Gad, son of Henry Christian Gad)[13] may help to explain the rather cold personality described by her son Pola. Shortly after their joint arrival in Paris, in October 1872, Marie Heegaard (on whom, see *Portrait, 1*) was writing home to report that Mette was very erudite, and, as everyone knew, 'didn't mind showing it'[14]; that she was not the soul of tact, indeed 'she can be rather unkind at times'[15]; and that, courted by an assiduous Monsieur Gauguin, she was playing the 'stony-hearted belle'[16].

The meeting ■ Gauguin liked Mette for 'the originality of her character and for her straightforwardness', he told Mrs Heegaard during the engagement[17]. He was attracted by her freedom of speech, independence of will and energy of character, which were like his own; they were both strong personalities. They had much in common: both had lost their fathers and very early learnt to be self-reliant; both had gone out into the world to earn their living at the age of seventeen. And their relative poverty made them both outsiders in the moneyed circles in which they met.
Gauguin saw in Mette an image of the strong, independent, frank women of his own maternal ancestry. On the other hand, his fiancée was neither 'noble' nor noticeably 'pretty'; if these qualities, which Gauguin so appreciated in his mother and grandmother (see above), comprised his ideal in a woman,

The engagement was announced in early February 1873, barely a month and a half after Gauguin had first made his appearance in the letters of Marie Heegaard. The marriage was celebrated on 22 November 1873 at the Lutheran Church of the Redemption in rue Chauchat. There followed 'a charming winter in which we were a little too unsociable for others' tastes but nice and cosy in our little apartment'[19]. Nine months and nine days later, their first son was born.

[1] Paul Gauguin: *Avant et après*, p. 84.
[2] *Avant et après*, pp. 85-86.
[3] *Avant et après*, p. 193.
[4] F. Tristan: *Le Tour de France*, Paris, 1973, p. 179.
[5] Marie Heegaard's letter of July 1873 (Merlhès VII).
[6] Gauguin to Mrs Heegaard, 12 September 1874 (Merlhès 5).
[7] *Avant et après*, p. 89.
[8] K. Hvidt: *Edvard Brandes*, Copenhagen, 1987, p. 162.
[9] However, her maiden name was registered as Paulssen for her church wedding.
[10] Pola Gauguin, 1938, pp. 24-25.
[11] See his letter of November 1884 (Merlhès 57).
[12] Pola Gauguin, 1938, pp. 26-27.
[13] M. Malingue: *La Vie prodigieuse de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1987, p.55.
[14] Marie Heegaard's letter of 21 November 1872, in M. Bodelsen: 'Nyt lys oven den unge Gauguin', *Signum*, 1961, no. 2, p. 32.
[15] Marie Heegaard's letter of early January 1873 (Merlhès III).
[16] Marie Heegaard's letter of 25 December 1872 (Merlhès II).
[17] Gauguin to Mrs Heegaard, 9 February 1873 (Merlhès I).
[18] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 12 June 1896, in Malingue, 1987, p. 58.
[19] Gauguin to Mrs Heegaard, 25 April 1874 (Merlhès 3).

who willingly told me that he had had these pictures since 1884 and that they had been given to him by Gauguin himself […] shortly before he left for Denmark with his wife and children. All these pictures except the big painting [cf. *145*] are now the property of Monsieur Roussel, who bought them'.
R. Trintzius; 'Les Trésors de la Ville-Musée', *Journal de Rouen*, 28 June 1932, p. 2, gives the same information in more precise terms: 'placed under the table […] amid a stock of old clocks, they were put to auction […] and there was a fortunate individual who understood what they were worth. He was the only person to do so, and bought the lot for five hundred francs!/ I conducted a little investigation and found out that the seller was perfectly aware of Gauguin's fame but had no respect for the talent of the painter of Tahiti. Thinking nothing of them, he had decided to sell the pictures as old daubs'. (A cutting of this article still accompanies the painting).
Unpublished note by Roussel: 'After buying the four paintings by P. Gauguin, but before all the articles appeared in the press, I met the former owner who had put this lot to auction. I learnt that he had been married to a Danish woman, and had in this way come into contact with Mme Gauguin, who was also Danish, and her husband'.
Unpublished written testimony of Dr. Boidin, who bought two paintings which had been owned by Monsieur Roussel after the latter's death in 1946/47: 'Mme Roussel kept the portrait of Mme Gauguin and perhaps the Christ' [when she sold the others] 'Name of the watchmaker-jeweller from Rouen: Haslauer'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 96, not reproduced.

Provenance:
Given by the artist on his departure for Denmark in November 1884, with five other paintings, to a watchmaker and jeweller of Rouen, whose wife was, like Mette Gauguin, Danish; the watchmaker's name was, according to Dr Boidin's testimony (**D** above), Haslauer. The five other paintings are *33*, *145* (?), the landscape *W18*, *Flowers (W79)*, and an unknown *Christ on the Cross*; the last three are not included in this catalogue. Haslauer was not yet trading in his own name when the gift was made, or so we presume, since his name does not appear in the commercial directories of the time. In 1907, there were two watchmakers of this name in business: the father (Auguste) at 77 rue du Vieux-Château, and the son, at 75 rue de la République (*Annuaire général de Rouen*, Imprimerie du *Journal de Rouen*, 1907).
Sold by the watchmaker at the Rouen auctions, 3 and 6 May 1932, with four of the pictures cited above. The entire lot was bought for FF 500 by Monsieur Paté, the antique-dealer.
Sold in 1932 with three other pictures from the lot to Monsieur Roussel, a Rouen collector who died in 1946/47.
Mme Roussel, Rouen (see Boidin's testimony, **D** above).
Bought before 1960 by a Parisian collector.
Sale [of Parisian collector], London, Sotheby's, 1 July 1992, no. 106.

23
Man with *Toque*

Canvas. 0.46 × 0.38
W25

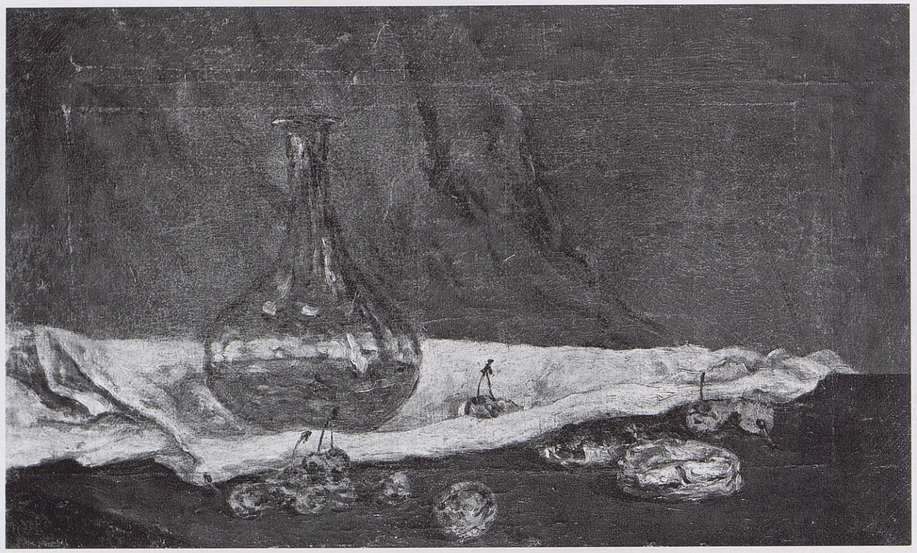
The technique of this painting suggests a date around 1875-1877.
The model is unknown; it is certainly not a self-portrait, as has sometimes been suggested. The man is wearing a sort of indoor coat (*paletot*); his cap is fairly untypical for a Frenchman of the time and may suggest the dress of an artist. His features may suggest Germanic or Scandinavian origins.
Two drawings showing similar – but not identical – figures may relate to this picture. The first, a rather clumsy early sketch from the 1870s, is of a man wearing a *toque*, whose features are overall rather different[1]. The second, from Gauguin's sketchbook of the early 1880s[2], shows a bare-headed man, whose eyes, mouth and goatee resemble those of this portrait, but whose nose is very different. The second drawing seems to be several years later than the painting; if both represent the same person, he must have been one of Paul and Mette Gauguin's inner circle.

[1] Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 20 January 1973, no. 9.
[2] Gauguin's sketchbook, early 1870s-early 1880s (Bjurström, 1986), p. 8, *recto*.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein 1964, no. 25 (repr.).

Provenance:
Thought to have been in the hands of Amédée Schuffenecker (on whom, see *Geese*, *184*, inset).
Bought from Mme Devos by Bernheim-Jeune, Paris, 9 July 1910 (no. 18230).
Sold to Knoedler, New York, 5 December 1916.
Sale, Carel P.L. De Wild (deceased), New York, 18-19 January 1924, no. 309.
Scott and Fowles, New York.
Private collection, USA, c. 1996.
Duncan Stewart Ellsworth, Salisbury (Connecticut).
Donated by Helen W. Ellsworth in memory of Duncan S. Ellsworth in 1996 to:
Cambridge (Massachusetts), Fogg Art Museum – 1996.218.

23



24

24
Cherries and Carafe

Canvas. 0.33 × 0.54

We know this work only from a black and white photograph. On stylistic grounds, it belongs to the period 1874-1878, probably between 1875-1877. Cherries would indicate a summer date.

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 4.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Pola Gauguin.
Mrs Holstein-Ratlou, Copenhagen, c. 1945.
Paul Christiansen, Copenhagen.
Sale [Christiansen], Copenhagen, Rasmussen, 6 April 1976, no. 16.
Private collection, c. 1985.

25
Roses in a Glass

Oil on wood. 0.200 × 0.145/0.155
Signed upper right: *P. Gauguin*
W16

25

26

This picture is known to us only through a photograph published by Poulain (D), who records that it is painted on a cigar-box lid, and that its owners, who knew Gauguin in the 1870s, dated it to 1875. Its technique is certainly compatible with the period 1875-1876.

Documents and bibliography:
G. Poulain: 'Une peinture inconnue de la jeunesse de Paul Gauguin', *Bulletin de l'art ancien et moderne*, March 1934, p. 76 (repr.): 'According to its owners, it must date from 1875, and is, in any case, earlier than *In the Forest, Viroflay* exhibited by Gauguin at the 1876 Salon'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 16 (repr.).

Provenance:
Given as a *philippine* 'prize' (a *philippine* is a game in which a 'pair' – twin almonds, a divided wishbone – is split between two players. When they meet again, the player who first says 'Bonjour Philippine' 'wins' a gift from the other) to a friend of Mette's, Marguerite de Filippi. Poulain reports that Gauguin, 'still a liquidator with the stockbroker Bertin, quickly became a regular at the Filippi house, where, indeed, he met Berthe Morisot'. Marguerite, later Mme Frédéric Maquaire, still owned the work in 1934.
Sale, Paris, Drouot, 8 February 1953, no. 105.
Current whereabouts unknown.

26
Pears and Grapes

Oil on paper mounted on wood.
0.34 × 0.42
Signed and dated upper left:
[...] *Gauguin 7* [?]
W2

The initial letter of the forename seems to be hidden by the stretcher. The last figure of the signature is unclear, and could be a '6', as Bodelsen's article (D) suggests, or, no less plausibly, an 's'-shaped '5', such as Gauguin generally wrote.
The style of this study suggests a date in 1875, and the grapes and pears suggest autumn.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein 1964, no. 2 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'The Dating of Gauguin's Early Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1965, pp. 306, 309, 310 (repr.), 312 (repr.). Bodelsen tentatively reads the last figure of the signature as a '6' on the basis of an infra-red photograph.

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 2.
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, and London, Tate Gallery, 1955, no. 2.
Oslo, Kunstnerforbundet, 1955, no. 1.
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 1.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 1.
Tokyo, Kyoto and Fukuoka, 1969, no. 2.

Provenance:
Very likely: Mette Gauguin – Mette was a friend of the Dessau family and sold them several paintings.
Mrs Benny Dessau, Copenhagen, c. 1948.
Einar Dessau, Copenhagen, c. 1955.
Private collection.

27
Still Life with Jug and Red Mullet

Canvas. 0.46 × 0.56
Signed lower left: *p. Gauguin*
W28

More rustic than the other still lifes of this period, this painting, like *Seascape (28)*, may have been the product of a seaside holiday of which all record has been lost.
There are stylistic grounds for dating it between 1874 and 1877, with a tentative preference for 1875-1876, whereas the signature, whose capitals lack Gauguin's previous calligraphic flourishes, suggests 1876-1877.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 28 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 23.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 6.

Provenance:
The painter Johannes Wilhjelm, Copenhagen, c. 1926.
Mrs Jarl, daughter of Wilhjelm, Copenhagen.
Purchased in 1930 by Gustaf Werner, and donated that same year to:
Göteborg (Sweden), Götesborg Konstsmuseum – 910.

27

28

28
Seascape

Canvas. 0.33 × 0.46
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 1876
W17

We know nothing about Gauguin's movements outside Paris during this period. It is possible that the *Still Life (27)* and this seascape were painted during a stay by the sea. The thin, simplified signature is of a new type, which seems to have appeared over the course of 1876.

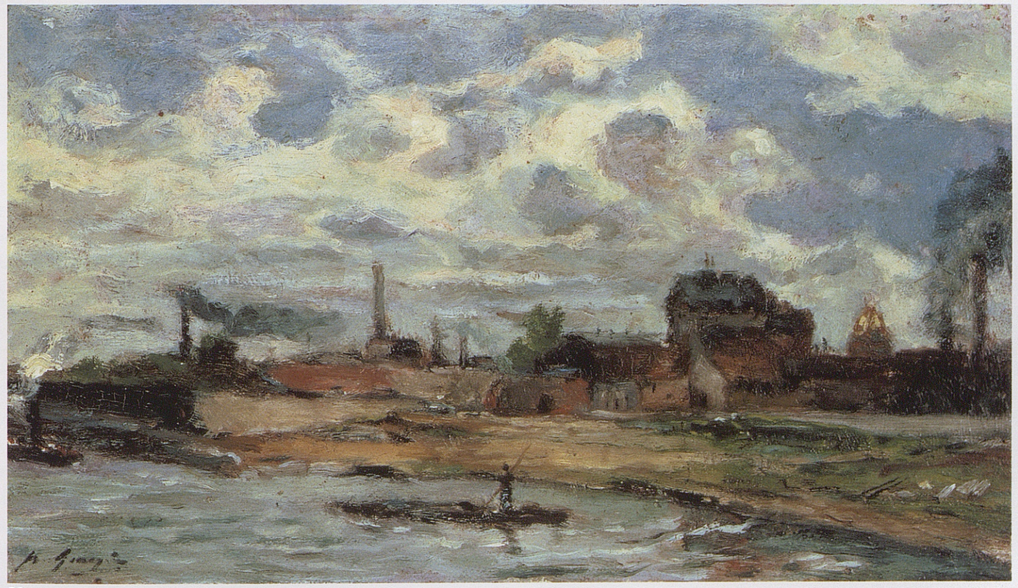
Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 17 (repr.).

Provenance:
Private collection, Denmark, c. 1930.
Sale [of this collection], London, Christie's, 20 May 1960, no. 67 (to Morton).

29
Port de Javel I

Oil on wood. Originally: 0.135 × 0.245.
Parqueted and increased in size to:
0.160 × 0.225
Signed lower left: *p. Gauguin*

Unlike the 1875 paintings of the Seine, this picture and *30* were made looking upstream, roughly where the pont Mirabeau now stands (it did not then exist), giving Gauguin a longer walk to his motif. To the left, one can see the last arch of the pont de Grenelle, and right at the back on the right, the dome of Les Invalides. The point of view is so far out on the water that one wonders whether Gauguin had not taken his own advice of ten years later, when he counselled Pissarro to 'ask a ship for hos-



29

pitality and set up on deck, or hire a boat'[1]. This little study must have been made from nature, certainly before June 1877, when Gauguin left the Étoile quarter for Vaugirard.
The turbulent and rather loose technique situates the painting in all probability between 1875 and 1878, with 1876 or 1877 the most likely dates, as confirmed by the form of the signature. If *30* is indeed a second version, this study might even be from 1876.
In Gauguin's smaller studies, we occasionally find a slightly turbulent surface, somewhat untidy and sometimes crudely brushed in with large strokes: see *China Asters (37)*, inset, and *Church (49)*.

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 11 October 1883 (Merlhès 41).

Exhibitions:
Christmas Exhibition [exact title unknown], Huinck & Scherjon, Amsterdam, December 1936-January 1937.

Provenance:
Huinck & Scherjon, Amsterdam, c. 1936, no. 1077.
D.G. van Beuningen, Vierhouten (Netherlands), 1937.
Donated by van Beuningen in 1958 to:
Rotterdam (Netherlands), Museum Boijmans-van Beuningen – 2606.

30
Port de Javel II

Canvas. 0.24 × 0.32

This is the same motif as *29* and could well be a second version with a few variations. In technique, it resembles *Seascape (28)*, which is dated 1876.
It long remained hidden beneath the *Portrait of Philibert Favre (206)*, as both were nailed to the same stretcher.

Provenance:
Favre, Paris. We do not know whether Philibert Favre liked his portrait, or whether it, and thus the present work, belonged from the start to his son Claude Antoine (see *43*)
Gabrielle Favre (née Tessier), widow of Claude Favre, 1900.
Le Tessier Du Plessis, Paris (by inheritance), c. 1952.
Private collection.

30

32

31
In the Forest, Viroflay – Seine-et-Oise

This is the painting accepted (under the title *Sous-Bois à Viroflay – Seine-et-Oise*) for the Salon of 1876.

Gauguin had painted in Viroflay in 1875 (see *14*). But it seems most unlikely that he presented so small a painting for the official selection, given that in 1875 and 1876 he painted a certain number of quite large works (*Landscape, 13, Crane, 20* and *Still Life, 32*).
The painting that featured in the 1876 Salon was presumably signed and of relatively large dimensions. Was it an enlarged version of *14*, or of some other motif found in the same area?
There is no trace of a painting of this kind and its continued existence must therefore remain hypothetical; it cannot be ruled out that Gauguin himself destroyed it as juvenilia.

Documents and bibliography:
C. Yriarte: 'Le Salon de 1876 (2e article)', *GBA*, July 1876, p. 36: 'My notes are coming to an end, as I further cite […] M. Mesgrigny, M. Montenard and M. de Foucaucourt, and M. Paul Gauguin, who is, I believe, exhibiting for the first time, and shows great promise'. (Yriarte's attention may have been drawn to Gauguin less by the young artist's talent than by their common friendship with the Arosas).
G. Poulain: 'Une peinture inconnue de la jeunesse de Paul Gauguin', *Bulletin de l'art ancien et moderne*, March 1934, p. 76; see *Roses (25)*, **D**.

Exhibition:
Salon, Paris, Palais des Champs-Élysées, 1876, no. 867 (*In the Forest, Viroflay – Seine et Oise*).

Provenance:
Disappeared.

32
Still Life with Oysters

Canvas. 0.53 × 0.93
Signed and dated lower left:
P. Gauguin. 1876.
W21

The rather bourgeois subject of this still life, with oysters, pears, grapes and game all to the fore, suggests a date towards the close of the year. But it may, of course, be a montage of several separate studies; the fruits, for example, may derive from a previous autumnal study, such as *26*. The style is thoroughly lacking in spontaneity, and difficult to assign to a particular time of year. However, the evident care taken with the composition, the large format and the deliberately traditional treatment might suggest that Gauguin painted it with one eye on the Salon. If so, it would very likely date from the first few months of 1876.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein 1964, no. 21 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 3 bis.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 6.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 2.

Provenance:
Michel Thibout, Paris, c. 1960.
Sale, Paris, Galliera, 29 March 1962, no. 69.
Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon, Upperville (Virginia), 1964.
Donated by the Mellons in 1983 to:
Richmond (Virginia), Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Collection of Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon – 83.23.

33
Vase with Anemones and Anthemis

Canvas. 0.360 × 0.265

Analogous in style to the bouquets *34* and *36*, this work seems to date from between 1874 and 1876.

33

The presence in the bouquet of anemones and anthemis (at the top of the bouquet) suggests that the painting was executed in March[1]. The vase must be the same one as in *42*.

[1] According to Monsieur Lemattre.

Documents and bibliography:
Unpublished letter from Paté, 22 May 1932, reporting his acquisition of the paintings which had been auctioned as a single lot by a Rouen clockmaker (who had received them directly from Gauguin), and their sale to Roussel; see *22*, **D**.
R. Trintzius: 'Les Trésors de la Ville-Musée', *Journal de Rouen*, 28 June 1932, p. 2, who restates the information provided by Paté, adding, 'The blue-green vase sings out among the white and violet flowers. [The painting] was used as a place mat in the vendor's house. It has shown a splendid resistance to the many tureens [placed upon it], but bears two indelible black rings'.
Unpublished note by Roussel: See *22*, **D**.
Unpublished handwritten testimony by Dr Boidin: 'Monsieur Roussel died around 1946 or 47 […] In September 1948, Vaumousse bought three pictures from Mme Roussel: the two that he sold to me [i. the present picture; ii. *W79*, which is not included in this catalogue,] and *Deer by the Pond* [also not included].

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to a Rouen watchmaker-jeweller named Haslauer (whose wife was, like Mette Gauguin, Danish), along with five other paintings, prior to Gauguin's departure for Denmark in November 1884. See, for this and the following two entries, *Mette Asleep (22)*, **P**.
Auctioned by the watchmaker at the Rouen salesroom, on 3 and 6 May 1932, with four other paintings that belonged to him; the lot was bought by Paté, a Rouen antique-dealer.
Immediately resold, with three other paintings from the lot, to Roussel, a Rouen collector who died in 1946 or 1947.
Bought from Mme Roussel by Vaumousse, see the testimony of Dr Boidin, **D** above.
Sold by Vaumousse to Dr Boidin, Paris, 1948 (to whom the picture still belonged around 1970).
Private collection.

34
Bouquet of Peonies on a Musical Score

Canvas. 0.55 × 0.38
Signed and dated upper right:
1876. p. Gauguin
W20

This painting must have been made in or around May, when peonies are in flower. The presence of a musical score in this painting and in *36* implies that music was played in the Gauguin household; we know that Gauguin, at least, had a lifelong love of music (see *On a Chair, 63*, inset).

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 20 (repr.).

Provenance:
Bought from Mme Devos, Paris, by Bernheim-Jeune, 9 July 1910, no. 18231.
Sold to Léonce Heymann, Paris, 13 December 1912.
Kissling, Bern.
Private collection, Zurich, c. 1995.

34

35

35
Daisies and Peonies in a Blue Vase

Canvas. 0.55 × 0.38
Signed and dated lower right:
76 p Gauguin
W19

The combination of *Leucanthema* (white ox-eye daisies) and a late-flowering variety of peony suggests[1] that this painting was made in June (1876). The dynamic brushwork of the background, like that of still life *(37)*, is clearly experimental; for other such experiments, see *37*, inset.

[1] According to Monsieur Lemattre.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 19 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 24.

Provenance:
The painter Johannes Wilhjelm, Copenhagen, c. 1926.
Mrs Jarl, daughter of the above, Copenhagen.
Sale, Cologne, Lempertz, 24 April 1928, no. 4.
Baron Louis de Rothschild, Vienna.
Mrs David H. Annan, New York, 1957.
Private collection.

36

36
Flowers in a Vase with Musical Score

Canvas. 0.41 × 0.27
Signed lower right: *p. gauguin 7* [?]
W9

The final figure of the date is, alas, unclear, and it is difficult to situate this study precisely. Its owner, Parent, thought that it dated from 1874[1]; this is compatible with the form of the signature here, since the capital 'G' that Gauguin began using in 1875 is absent.
Since no other still life is firmly assigned to 1874, comparison is lacking; on the other hand, the frank assurance of this work has no equal in Gauguin's production of that year. Moreover, the composition is the same overall as that of the *Bouquet (34)* of 1876, a date compatible with the style of this work. In that case, these china asters and roses, which flower in July-August[2], may have been painted after the 'dynamic' *Daisies and Peonies (35)* of June 1876. At all events, it seems likely that the bouquet was painted between 1874 and 1876.
The association of music and flowers is also found in *34*. Other still lifes contain printed objects, such as the *Hyacinths and Apples (41)*, though the poetry of the present work is, perhaps, rather more worldly.

[1] Chassé, 1921, p. 64 (D).
[2] According to Monsieur Lemattre.

Documents and bibliography:
C. Chassé: *Gauguin et le groupe de Pont-Aven*, Paris, 1921, p. 64: 'Monsieur Armand Parent says that he possesses a Gauguin painting of 1874, dated and signed by the artist himself. It is a blue vase containing flowers, which, Monsieur Parent tells me, is astonishingly similar in technique to Manet and Monticelli'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 9 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'The Dating of Gauguin's Early Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1965, p. 309, note 9.

Exhibitions:
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 1 (*Bunch of Flowers in Blue Vase*, 1874).
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 2 (Grosshennig of Galerie Wilhelm Grosshennig, Düsseldorf, in 1965 remembered having seen this picture at the Berlin exhibition of 1928).

Provenance:
Armand Parent, Paris, c. 1921.
Otto Nierenstein, Vienna, c. 1928.
(?) Thannhauser.
Römer, Germany, c. 1950.
Private collection, Düsseldorf (Germany), c. 1988.

37
China Asters, Hat and Book

Oil on wood. 0.205 × 0.410
Signed lower right: *p. Gauguin*

Since the flowers are clearly china asters, this still life must have been made between July and September[1].
The signature could be from either 1875 or 1876, but the style, which is close to that of *Daisies and Peonies (35)* of 1876, would tend to place it in that rather experimental year. The coursing brushstrokes of its background make this one of the first studies to exhibit the rather turbulent surfaces Gauguin liked to experiment with from time to time (see inset).

[1] According to Monsieur Lemattre.

Provenance:
Bought around 1947-1950 by Mr and Mme Jean Bouygues, antique-dealers in Paris.
Sale, London, Christie's, 3 December 1996, no. 109.
Private collection.

Unstable Surfaces

In parallel with paintings of generally traditional kind, Gauguin began quite early in his career to work on others in which his desire to abandon the neat and harmonious is clearly manifested.
He therefore attempted, on a sporadic but not infrequent basis, to create dynamic 'flux' effects on the surface of the canvas. These are found in certain flower paintings of 1876, and in certain landscapes from 1875 on. In the latter, the slack or heavily brushed-in surfaces are very striking; some of these, such as *Port de Javel I (29)* and *Church (49)* date from a time when Gauguin was not yet in frequent contact with Cézanne. The effect is also found in a variety of other works, such as the still lifes *63, 81,* and so on. Certain of Gauguin's 'repeats' of studies, such as *Watering Place (203)* and *Riverbank (209)*, also contain this effect; such second versions evidently lent themselves to stylistic experiment (see *Quarries, 86,* inset).

Starting in 1881, under the influence of Cézanne, this flux increasingly began to invade the form and space of Gauguin's paintings, for example in the quarry paintings made at Pontoise in 1882 (see the introduction to the period 1879-1883). It appears, moreover, in larger and larger formats. Later, a different form of experimentation led Gauguin to distort forms and render them more dynamic; examples of this are *Fruit (312)* and the Pont-Aven landscape *(313)*. Gauguin also took a perceptible pleasure in jarring constructions that seem all but disordered, from the Cézanne-influenced *Street, Osny (106)* to the *Washerwomen (325)* painted at Arles.
These experimental works were produced at the same time as much more static or traditional works. Gauguin was unwilling to confine himself to a single style, and had an inner compulsion to explore difficult terrain. His pronounced experimentalism was a temperamental necessity that revealed itself very early in his career.

We do not know where Gauguin painted this landscape. It clearly dates from the period 1873-1878, but technique alone offers insufficient evidence for more accurate dating. The signature, thin and simplified, is of a kind that first becomes apparent in 1876, and the last figure seems to be a '7'. It perhaps marks a return to classical forms after the many experiments of 1876; the scale (like that of the *Still Life with Oysters, 32*) is certainly ambitious.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 1 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'The Dating of Gauguin's Early Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1965, pp. 306, 307 (fig. 25), 309, 310, 311 (fig. 33).

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 1.
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, and London, Tate Gallery, 1955, no. 1.
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 5.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 8.
Kyoto, Tokyo and Fukuoka, 1969, no. 1.

38
Farm and Pond

Canvas. 0.65 × 1.01
Signed lower left: *p. Gauguin 1877* [?]
W1

37

38

Provenance:
Very probably: Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen. Mette was very close to the Dessau family, and sold them several works.
Mrs Benny Dessau, Copenhagen, c. 1948.
Einar Dessau, Copenhagen, c. 1955.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 28 June 1972, no. 31.
Private collection, Japan, c. 1981.
Sale, New York, Christie's, 8 November 1995, no. 109.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 14 May 1998, no. 111.

Provenance:
An inscription in Danish on the back of the painting informs us that the painter Sally Philipsen received this painting from Mette Gauguin. Mette is known to have been acquainted with the painter Theodor Philipsen. She may also have known the Danish painter Sally Nicolai Philipsen (b. 1879).
Sale, Copenhagen, Winkel & Magnussen, 6 November 1947, no. 72 (to Nils Werner Johansson).
Private collection, Denmark, c. 1981.

39
Landscape with Factories

Canvas. 0.36 × 0.51

This light-toned, rather misty painting probably dates from around 1877-1878.

39

40

40
Henhouse

Oil on cardboard. 0.220 × 0.365

There is no way of knowing whether this sketch was made in the countryside or simply at Vaugirard, near the house to which the Gauguins moved in June 1877; Vaugirard was still fairly rural, and in 1870, during the Commune, Edmond de Goncourt noted chickens and goats there.
The lightness of manner suggests affinities with *Portrait of a Child (46)*, which may date from 1878. On the other hand, we cannot rule out the possibility that this painting is slightly later again; it may date, like *Geese on the Farm (47)*, from early in the period of Gauguin's friendship with Pissarro before he had fully absorbed his master's teaching. In that case, its inspiration might be the series of not dissimilar studies of farmyard poultry made by Pissarro around 1877-1878 (Pissarro-Venturi 426-432).
A Gauguin family tradition (recorded in the catalogue of the 1948 exhibition) has it that this little painting was used to ornament Mette Gauguin's worktable. A similar tradition exists in relation to *In the Forest, Saint-Cloud I (2*, q.v.*)*.

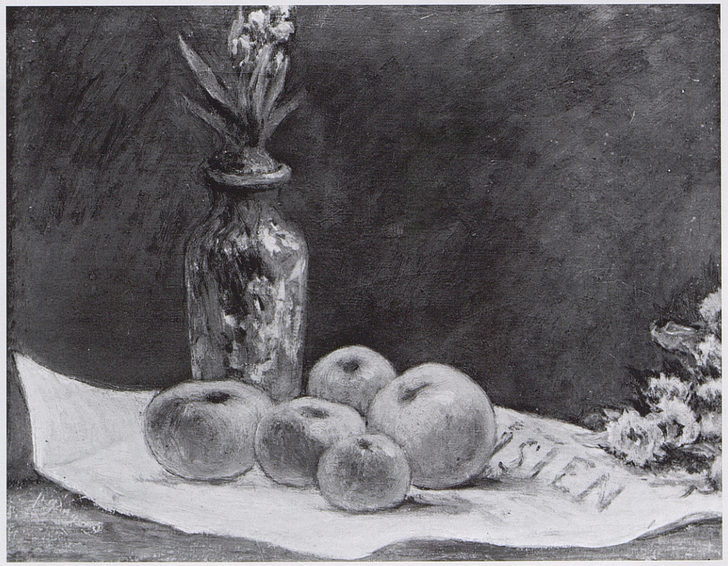
Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 9.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Jean Gauguin (son of the artist).
Clara Gauguin (Jean Gauguin's first wife), c. 1948.
Private collection, Denmark.
Sale, London, Bonham's, 11 November 1998, no. 89.
Sale, London, Christie's, 30 June 1999, no. 205.

41
Hyacinths and Apples on a Newspaper

Canvas. 0.33 × 0.41
Signed lower left: *p. gauguin*
W19bis

This painting, whose technique might, at first sight, locate it between 1874 and 1878, cannot, it seems, be dated before the earliest months of 1877, since the hyacinths (which flower around January-February) are posed on a copy of *Le Petit Parisien*, and the first number of that 'evening political paper' appeared on 15 October 1876.
Founded by the *député* Louis Andrieux, the radical *Petit Parisien* had, at this date, a daily print-run of under 10,000. Its presence in Gauguin's home testifies to his loyalty to the republican ideals of his family, which thus make a discreet appearance in his *œuvre*. On the representation of print in Gauguin's work, see *Flowers and Japanese Book (95)*, inset.
The vase is of a kind specially designed for hyacinths[1].
This picture was heavily restored during the second half of the 20th century; here we



41

show a Vizzavona photograph of it, taken during the first quarter of the century.

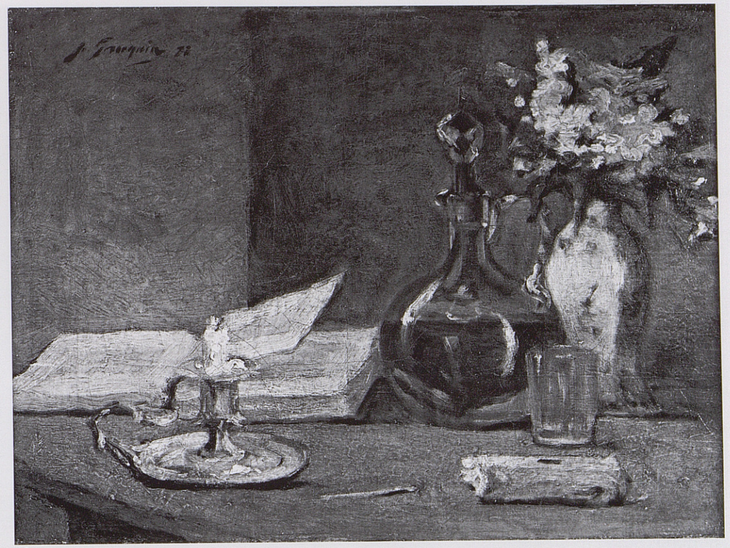
[1] According to Monsieur Lemattre.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 19bis (repr.).

Exhibitions:
List of Loans at the Opening Exhibition of the Modern Foreign Gallery, London, National Gallery, 1926, p. 4.

Provenance:
Schuffenecker: a reproduction of this picture features in a group of Druet-Vizzavona photographs that belonged to Jeanne Schuffenecker; she must have received them from her uncle Amédée who dealt in Gauguin's work during the early years of the century (on Amédée Schuffenecker, see *Geese in the Meadow (184*, inset).
Petitdidier et Urion, Paris.
Galerie Fiquet, Paris.
J.G. Lousada, London (c. 1926?).
Anthony B. Lousada, London.
Sale, Mrs M. R. Lousada, London, Christie's, 8 May 1953, no. 102 (to Appleby).
Sale, Zurich, Köller, 26, 29 and 30 November 1985, no. 5165.
Sale, Enghien, Hôtel des ventes, 23 November 1986, no. 50.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 2 December 1987, no. 104.
Sale, New York, Christie's, 12 November 1992, no. 105.

Carafes for growing floral bulbs, engraving from Vilmorin-Andrieux et Cie: *Les Fleurs de pleine terre*, Les Éditions 1900, 1989, p. 525.



42

42
Still Life with Open Book

Canvas. 0.245 × 0.315
Signed and dated upper left:
p. Gauguin 7 [7?]
W3

The last digit of the date is difficult to read, while the technique of this study is difficult to categorise, but is likely to date from 1874-1878. However, the signature is of a type that appears only in 1876, and the slightly misty light tones of the work might place it in 1877-1878. The vase seems to be the one that appears in *33*.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 3 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'The Dating of Gauguin's Early Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1965, pp. 306, 309-311 (repr.), 312 (fig. 39: detail of the signature).

Exhibitions:
Oslo, Kunstnerforbundet, 1955, not catalogued (in Bodelsen, D, p. 310).

Provenance:
[?] Peter Magnussen.
Sale, Copenhagen, Winkel & Magnussen, 30 March 1933, no. 27 (to Dr Meyer, Bergen, Norway).
Ragnar Moltzau, Oslo.
Sale, Stuttgart, Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett, 3-4 May 1961, no. 97.
R. L. Gardner-Thorpe, London.
Private collection.

43

43
Portrait of Claude Antoine Charles Favre

Canvas. 0.455 × 0.380
Signed and dated upper left:
p. Gauguin 1877
W22

A year older than Gauguin, Favre, known as *le Marsouin*, was one of Gauguin's closest – and certainly one of his oldest – friends during the first part of his life.
Favre was born in Paris, in what is now the 10th arrondissement, on 4 August 1847. Claude Antoine's father, Philibert Favre, was a silk merchant, whose *Portrait (206)* Gauguin painted in 1885. His mother, Julie Alphonsine Malenfant, was half-Polish by descent; born in Pointe-à-Pitre c. 1809, she died in Neuilly in 1873. According to the Neuilly electoral roll for 1874, Claude's elder brother, Jules Antoine Édouard (born 1844) was a sales representative, and Claude Antoine followed him into commerce. The same electoral roll registers Claude Antoine as a 'clerk', but, by late 1884, he had become a sales representative for Dillies, a tarpaulin manufacturer (see inset).
From the same electoral roll, we discover that, in 1871, Claude Antoine was a 'sailor' and 'absent'; this explains his nickname '*Marsouin*' or 'porpoise', which is military slang for 'marine'. Gauguin was at that time serving as 'sailor, 2nd class' aboard the corvette *Le Desaix*, and it is possible that he and Favre met at this stage. The only surviving fragment of their correspondence[1] certainly suggests a very old friendship; Gauguin uses the informal *tu* form, whereas, in both stockbroking and artistic milieux, Gauguin almost invariably confined himself to the more formal *vous*.
Their friendship of the 1880s is reasonably well-attested, but this portrait is the only surviving document of their relationship during the 1870s. Gauguin was by then frequenting the upper middle-class circles of the Arosas, but remained loyal to this older and humbler friendship.

[1] Gauguin to Claude-Antoine Favre, 25 August 1887 (Merlhès 132).

Le Marsouin

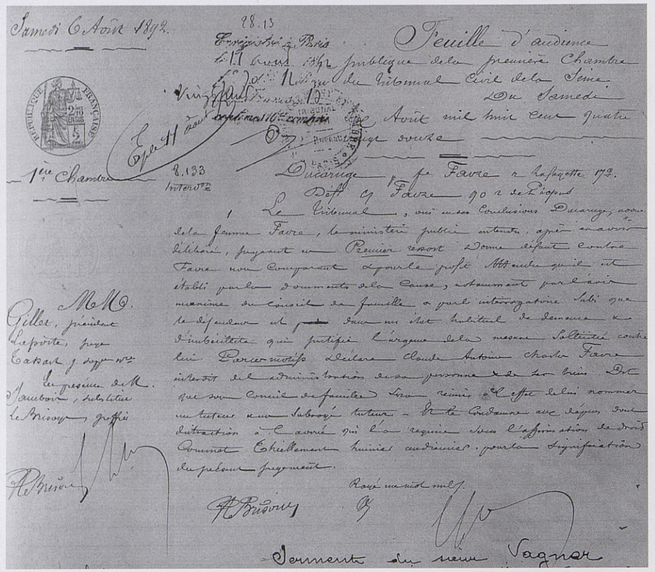
In 1884, Claude Antoine Favre was a sales representative for Dillies, a Roubaix manufacturer of 'impermeable and imperishable' cloth. Nevertheless, in late 1884 he was not unknown in artistic circles since Gauguin often mentions him in letters to Pissarro or Schuffenecker from 1883 on, having no doubt introduced Favre to these circles.

A friend in need ■ Favre's support was essential to Gauguin in the difficulties that ensued when Gauguin gave up his career at the stock market. In April 1884, when he needed to spend a few days in Paris and deposit his recent works there, it was with Favre that he stayed, at 11 rue Darcet, in Batignolles. The two-room mansard flat on the fifth floor cost Favre FF 400 a year. And it was thanks to Favre that, six months later, Dillies made Gauguin its salesman for the Scandinavian countries, at last giving Gauguin some hope of earning money. During his stay in Denmark, Gauguin's works were stored at Favre's new flat, at 19 (or 17) rue Perdonnet, near the gare du Nord. Those who wished could go and see them there: 'the *Marsouin* remains my chargé d'affaires and he will receive my pictures', Gauguin informed Pissarro, and Favre was his letterbox and link with France[1].
After the Scandinavian fiasco, Gauguin took refuge with Favre for a few days in October 1885, before renting accommodation just around the corner, at 10 rue Cail. For a while they lived on each others' doorsteps; the concierge would look after Clovis now in rue Cail, now in rue Perdonnet. 'I spent a very sad day, the weather was overcast, the way it often is in Denmark', wrote Gauguin to Mette on 2 November, 'Fortunately, the *Marsouin*, my neighbour is coming here with his girlfriend for dinner: for him, it's a convenient place to get over his worries at home where he's always arguing with his father'. Or again: 'the *Marsouin* who hasn't a penny to his name still manages to help me a little at the moment'[2]. And, whether offering a commission or merely a model who did not charge for his services, Favre persuaded his father to sit for Gauguin.

Despite this generosity, Favre did not always match up to Gauguin's expectations. 'You're standing on the bank, watching someone drown, proffering advice and no help, it's just typical, give it up – Reread your letters, it's what you do every time', Gauguin wrote in August 1887, while he was lying ill in Martinique[3]. The same refrain was heard by Schuffenecker: 'When you see the *Marsouin*, tell him that he hasn't an ounce of tact in him, he writes me a letter to say that if I drown myself it's my own fault and when he sees how things are with me he doesn't know whether to laugh or cry, that he's not earning much and doesn't make demands on others (AND THAT'S A LIE!)'[4]. The period of close friendship was, it would seem, at an end by then, but they stayed in touch, and mention is made of this 'family-*Marsouin*' in a letter of late 1889[5].

The *Marsouin*'s business card, *recto* and *verso*.

Ambition, insanity ■ The year 1888 seemed an auspicious one for Favre: on 8 March, he married Gabrielle Tessier in the town hall of the 5th arrondissement (for Gabrielle, see the decorated *tambourin, 147*). He also took over the Dillies business, with its factories at Roubaix and Armentières, and, at the same time, opened a large store selling blinds, awnings and waterproof covers at 172 rue Lafayette. The marriage may explain the business activity, since Gauguin's letter to Schuffenecker implies that the bride came with money. 'What do you expect?' he wrote, on 26 March 1888, 'The poor lad was thrashing around without capital to invest and his marriage gives him a bit – You have to forgive stupid mistakes, pitiful as they are'[6]. It is difficult to know whether Gauguin was simply disabused with marriages in general, or whether Gabrielle's apparently redoubtable character had given him pause.
Favre's businesses thrived, thanks, one imagines, to Gabrielle's capital. The rue Lafayette store, with its tarpaulins, blinds, and big tops, and its factories in the north, continued to feature in the commercial directory after 1905. However, the name of the owner, Favre, was coupled during the 1890s with that of 'L. Benoît, successor'.



Judicial interdiction of Claude Antoine Favre. Photo: Archives de Paris.

This unexpected addition is explained by a judgement by default made by the Première Chambre du Tribunal Civil de la Seine on 6 August 1892: 'As it appears by judgement of the court, Monsieur Claude-Antoine-Charles FAVRE, previously resident in Paris, at 172 rue Lafayette, and currently interned in the asylum of Dr Goujon, situated in Paris, at 90 rue de Picpus, has been ruled incapable of responsibility for his own affairs and person'. The cause list specifies that this measure was requested by his wife and that it was established 'notably by the unanimous view of the board of relations and by the court's examination that the defendant is in a habitual state of madness and imbecility that justifies the urgency of the measure requested against him'. Poor Favre was only forty-five; we do not know how he spent the remaining eight years of his life, nor of what he died. He was buried in Montparnasse cemetery on 16 March 1900.

The extent of his collection of Gauguin paintings is unknown. A few works remained in the family: this portrait, the portrait of Favre senior (*206*, which for a long time covered a landscape, *30*), the *tambourin* dedicated to Gabrielle Tessier *147*, and one drawing. But it was certainly more extensive than this suggests. Gauguin's sketchbook simply states '*Marsouin* (several paintings) given'[7].

Family tradition has it that Favre owned up to eighty works, but this is wholly improbable, and probably relates to the time of Gauguin's residence in Denmark, when he was depositing paintings with Favre. It seems however that Gabrielle Favre still possessed certain works in the early 20th century. She is thought to have given them to her nephew Fernand, born in 1886 and at this stage a student of law. He, in turn, is said to have sold them to bet on the horses; these works consequently appeared on the Parisian art market (my source here is Gabrielle Favre's great-nephew).

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, April, October, and late October-early November 1884 (Merlhès 45, 54 and 55).
[2] Gauguin to Mette, 13 October, 2 November and mid-November 1885 (Merlhès 87, 88, 89).
[3] Gauguin to Claude-Antoine Favre, 25 August 1887 (Merlhès 132).
[4] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 2nd week of October 1887 (Merlhès 133).
[5] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, October 1889 (Malingue XC).
[6] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 26 March 1888 (Merlhès 144).
[7] Sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 227.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 22 (repr.).
Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, 1984, pp. 377, note 98, and 478, note 246.

Exhibitions:
Tokyo, Kyoto and Fukuoka, 1969, no. 4.

Provenance:
Claude Antoine Charles Favre, Paris.
Gabrielle Favre, née Tessier, Paris, 1900.
Le Tessier Du Plessis, Paris, c. 1949.
Private collection.

44
Portrait of Ingeborg Thaulow

Oil on wood. 0.155 × 0.125
Signed upper right: *p. G.*
W23

Born on 7 February 1852 at Laesö, Ingeborg was the younger sister of Mette Gauguin (see *22* and *154*) and the second daughter of the family of Judge Gad. Ingeborg, in her turn, had younger siblings: Pauline (known as Pylle, born 1854), Theodor (1858) and Aage (1859).

In 1872, slightly before Mette's engagement to Gauguin, Ingeborg announced her engagement to Johan Frederick ('Frits') Thaulow (1847-1906). The Thaulow family had made its fortune in pharmaceuticals, and Frits' ample private income freed him of any need to rely on his art for a living[1]; he was therefore an excellent match. Ingeborg married him in October 1874, a year after Mette's marriage. Ingeborg and Frits were the first of a series of matches between their respective siblings: Pauline Gad married Frits' younger brother Hermann in 1877, and Theodor Gad in 1883 married Nicoline, the elder of Frits' two sisters.

The similarity of their marriages no doubt brought Mette and Ingeborg closer though Gauguin was not yet a painter by profession, whereas Thaulow had given up pharmaceuticals for his art in 1870. Moreover, their first children were born within a year of each other, Emil Gauguin on 31 August

44

1874 and Nina Thaulow on 30 August 1875; Frits was Emil's godfather (see *21*). Thaulow had always enjoyed foreign travel, and he soon decided to make Paris one of his bases, in common with the practice current among Scandinavian artists of following an academic training in Germany before coming to Paris to get abreast of the latest tendencies in art. The Thaulow family thus wintered in Paris three times between September 1876 and June 1879, while their – very long – summers were spent travelling abroad or in Scandinavia. At this stage, the two families must have spent much of their time together. During the winter of 1876-1877, the young mothers probably saw each other every day; a four-room flat had been found for the Thaulows on the third floor of 10 rue Pauquet (now rue Jean Giraudoux), just around the corner from the Gauguin household at 54 (now 30) rue de Chaillot, which was more or less directly at the end of rue Pauquet. On 1 June 1877, however, the Gauguins left the Étoile quarter for Vaugirard. The following winter the Thaulows were at 42 rue Orsel, in Montmartre[2]. It therefore seems likely that this portrait belongs to the winter of 1876-1877, when they were near-neighbours.

Ingeborg, sketch. Richmond (Virginia), Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, collection of Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon. Photo: Katherine Wetzel.

Ingeborg

Marriage and separation ▪ In marrying Frits, Ingeborg bound herself to a hurricane of energy. His second wife described him thus: 'Frits Thaulow was fortunate in his character. He combined a festive nature with a quite exceptional degree of industry. He was the centre of his own solar system. Artists and important people came from all over the world to his studio in Paris. He was always passionately interested in life. He had a rare gift, that of enlivening everyone around him and making them give of their best, thanks to his amiability and radiantly joyful character'[1]. Marriage brought Ingeborg into this Scandinavian-centred, but very cosmopolitan, artistic and intellectual milieu. She seems to have taken to it like a duck to water and made many friends. No doubt her taste for a society life in the city contributed to this, along with her own affinities. Gauguin himself, at a time when they were not on the best of terms, acknowledged the quality of his sister-in-law's mind, comparing her favourably to Frits Thaulow's second wife (Frits remarried in 1886): 'Despite all our quarrels with Ingeborg I have to say that this woman is truly much her inferior. She seemed to me very materialistic, as coarse as possible'[2]. Pola Gauguin thought Ingeborg prettier and more feminine than her elder sister[3], and Ingeborg did not hesitate to use her charm for her own ends. Scandinavian writers such as Björnson, and Drachmann both spoke of her extraordinary ability to stimulate the male mind[4].

Was Ingebord simply unlucky? Or was her character somehow to blame? At all events, the rest of her life is portrayed as less than peaceful. Between 1879 and December 1882, the Thaulows lived in Norway, but Frits spent most of the summers at sea, on board the famous *B.B.*, a yacht named after the Norwegian writer Björnstjerne Björnson. (The latter was a close family friend, and Gauguin must have met him, since he records in his sketchbook of 1888-1890 that he gave a still life to 'Mme Bjornson'[5]). It seems unlikely that Ingeborg and her two daughters, Nina (1875) and Else (1880), accompanied Frits on many of these long expeditions. And it was around this time that their relations began to sour; when the couple returned to Paris in December 1882, to winter there, the marriage broke down irretrievably (on this period, see *109*).

At odds with Gauguin ▪ Ingeborg and Gauguin were still on good terms at this period, but were thoroughly alienated in 1885 by Gauguin's disastrous visit to Denmark. While Mette and Paul's marriage was, in its turn, falling apart, and Gauguin was facing the incomprehension and contempt of the entire Gad family, Ingeborg, seeming to relive the breakdown of her own marriage, became its most vindictive representative. Echoes of this hostility can be heard in Gauguin's subsequent correspondence on several occasions: 'now

Ingeborg and Frits Thaulow with Nina (b. 30 August 1875). Photo: family Archives.

that your sister has successfully forced me to leave', 'your sister who has played the most stupid and spiteful role in everything that happened', and again 'your powerful sister hasn't given up her authority over you'[6]. Relations between Ingeborg and Gauguin ended with his departure.

Remarried ▪ Ingeborg was officially divorced from Frits on 16 September 1886. A year later she married the Danish writer and politician Edvard Brandes (1847-1931), with whom she had been friendly since the early 1880s. Brandes was at first in love with Nicoline Thaulow, Frits' sister, and Ingeborg had been his confidante. When, in 1882, Nicoline married Theodor Gad, Ingeborg's brother, in his stead, Brandes doubly avenged himself; by transforming his previously Platonic relationship with Ingeborg during the period 1882-1883, he became the lover of his rival Theodor's sister and of his beloved Nicoline's sister-in-law. Malingue tells us: 'A son was born of her liaison with Brandes, and was adopted by her sister Pauline'[7]. When the union received official sanction on 20 October 1887, a great debate about free love was raging in Scandinavia. Indeed, Ingeborg's conduct may have been one of the factors fuelling this debate (see *109*). We know that the debate was taken up in France, since Gauguin refers to it in a letter of January 1888[8]. Brandes had hitherto been in favour of such freedom[9].

The Brandes Collection ▪ It was, Hvidt tells us, shortly after this marriage that the Brandes came to an agreement with Mette to alleviate her financial difficulties by taking Gauguin's collection of Impressionist paintings off her hands[10]. Malingue tells us that Mette 'borrowed 6,000 kröner from her brother-in-law, handing over the pictures and three paintings by her husband as security; Brandes was to return them when Mette repaid the money'[11]. A letter from Gauguin to Mette confirms that Brandes had promised to 'sell them back at the same price'[12]. Gauguin therefore attempted in 1894 to regain possession of the works by Pissarro and Cézanne, to which he was particularly attached. Brandes refused, claiming, 'under the influence of his wife Ingeborg' says Malingue[13], that he had bought the works outright[14]. 'Having inherited 30,000 kröner from Frue Anker Heegaard,' Malingue notes, 'Mette offered 10,000 to Brandes, who refused to return the paintings, on the grounds that he had bought them. At the request of Mette's brothers, Theodor and Aage, a friend of the Gad family who was an advocate to the [Danish] Supreme Court, attempted to bring a case [against Brandes], but the scandal would have besmirched their sister Ingeborg'[15]. After a second divorce, around 1900, our next sighting of Ingeborg is in 1902, when she was living in the 12th arrondissement of Paris[16]. She was in Christiania (where her sister Pauline was living with her second husband, a Norwegian named Horst), when she died, aged 56, on 14 March 1908.

[1] Alexandra Thaulow: *When Thaulow was Painting*, Oslo, 1929, introduction, Norwegian original.
[2] Gauguin to Mette, early 1890 (Malingue C).
[3] Pola Gauguin: *Paul Gauguin, mon père*, Paris, 1938, pp. 24-25.
[4] K. Hvidt: *Edvard Brandes*, Copenhagen, 1987, pp. 161-169.
[5] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 228.
[6] Gauguin to Mette, 9 August 1885 (Merlhès 82), 27 February 1886 (Merlhès 95) and late 1889 (Malingue LXX).
[7] M. Malingue: *La Vie prodigieuse de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1987, p. 80.
[8] Gauguin to Mette, January 1888 (Merlhès 139).
[9] K. Hvidt, 1987, pp. 244-245.
[10] K. Hvidt, 1987, p. 248.
[11] Malingue, 1987, p. 59.
[12] Gauguin to Mette, October 1893 (Malingue CXLVIII).
[13] M. Malingue: 'Encore du nouveau sur Gauguin', *L'Oeil*, October 1959, p. 68.
[14] On the Brandes collection, see, in particular M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin, the Collector', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, pp. 603-605, 612, 615.
[15] Malingue, 1987, p. 59.
[16] Mette Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 7 June 1902.

Edvard Brandes (from Hvidt, 1987).

They were years of happy friendship which were not to last (see inset and *109*, which is surely a second portrait of Ingeborg). The little ink sketch reproduced here may have been a study for this painting.

[1] B. Mathisen, ed.: *Frits Thaulow*, Oslo, 1992, p. 22.
[2] See Salon catalogues of 1878 and 1879.

Documents and bibliography:
H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin and Denmark', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956 (published in 1958), p. 72 (repr.).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 23 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 45.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 26.
Gauguin og hans Venner, Copenhagen, Winkel & Magnussen, 1956, no. 73.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 5.

Provenance:
Ingeborg Brandes, Copenhagen.
A.W. Sandberg, Copenhagen, c. 1926 (by inheritance).
Mrs Else Sandberg, Copenhagen, c. 1948.
Sale Mr and Mrs Henrik Sandberg, Copenhagen, Rasmussen, 22 May 1958, no. 154.
Sale, London, Christie's, 2 December 1986, no. 307 (to a Munich dealer).
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 29 November 1989, no. 231.

45
Portrait of Emil Gauguin

Canvas. 0.215 × 0.165
Signed upper right: *p. g.*
W24

This portrait shows Emil, Gauguin's first child, who was born in 1874. The age of the model and the slightly misty handling suggest a date around 1877-1878.
A wax bust of Emil executed at around the same period (published by Bodelsen, D) closely resembles this portrait. For Emil, see *21*.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 24 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin Studies – Some Unpublished Child Portraits by Gauguin', *The Burlington Magazine*, April 1967, pp. 224-225, fig. 62 (fig. 61 shows the wax bust).

45

Exhibitions:
Oslo, Kunstnerforbundet, 1955, no. 2.

Provenance:
Mrs Alfred Larsen, Oslo, c. 1955.
Sale, London, Christie's, 27 November 1964, no. 49.
Sale, London, Christie's, 9 July 1965, no. 130 (to Peterson).

46
Portrait of a Child, perhaps Aline Gauguin

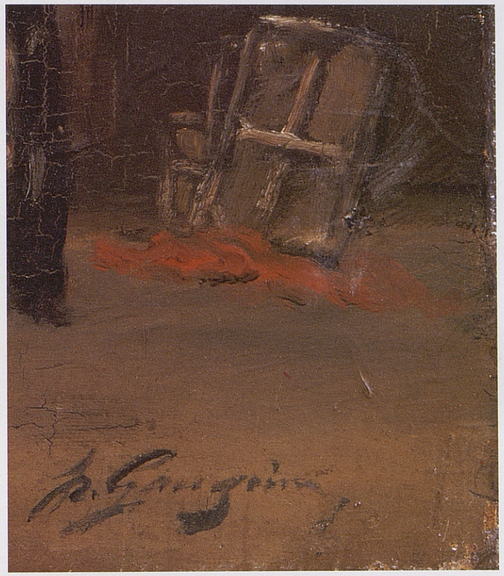
Oil on mahogany. 0.270 × 0.215

The smooth aspect and predominantly blue tones of this little portrait suggest that it should be assigned to 1877-1878. But who is this baby? The child seems under one year old, and there were three new-borns in Gauguin's vicinity. The eldest was Nina Thaulow, born 30 August 1875, the daughter of his sister-in-law (see *44*); but if the portrait is of her, it would date from 1876, which seems unlikely on stylistic grounds. His own daughter Aline was born a little later, on 24 December 1877, and, like the child in this portrait, had a rather long face. We do not immediately recognise in this portrait the delicate face and pretty nose of the artist's favourite child, but it is still less like the flat face and round head of the third candidate, Clovis Gauguin, born 10 May 1879.
Given the provenance of this painting (Mette Gauguin), the identification with Aline remains very plausible unless the child portrayed was not a relative at all. If it *is* a portrait of Aline, it is the only work that can be firmly dated to 1878.

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 3.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Bought from Mette by a friend, the lawyer Konrad Levysohn, Copenhagen, probably in the early 1890s, according to Levysohn's descendants.
Mrs I. Lindgren, daughter of the preceding.
Given by Mrs Lindgren to her son-in-law, Jens Hermann, Copenhagen.
Mrs Iben Hermann, Copenhagen.
Private collection.

46



Mette Asleep on a Sofa (22), detail. ▶

1879-1883: Study and Experiment: Between Pissarro and Cézanne

His master's voice

The Impressionist exhibitions must have made some impact on Gauguin, but not to the point where he adopted the Impressionist manner. Only in 1879 did he elect his first true master: Camille Pissarro, whom he may originally have met through the Arosa family. Now Gauguin wanted a closer relationship with him.

What brought this about, we do not know; we simply note that Gauguin's work in 1879 suddenly bears the mark of a new start, while the 'dear Monsieur Pissarro' of 1879 had, by the following year, become 'my dear Pissarro'.

'Dear Pissarro' was eighteen years older than Gauguin, an engaging teacher without a shred of authoritarianism. We know little about his teaching at the time when Gauguin was his student, but the principles that emerged from it are widely acknowledged. Students were encouraged to concentrate less on the outline-definition of volumes than on their centres; to take account of colour reflected onto its surroundings; to work on the whole composition at once, rather than painting different parts successively; and to render their perceptions immediately in the form of small strokes of paint. They were to paint boldly and without restraint, lest the first impression be lost, and were sometimes to take their courage in both hands, and work rather from memory than from observation, in order to preserve that first impression[1] (on this point, see *Human Misery, 317*, inset on working 'from the head').

Gauguin could, perhaps, have learnt these principles from Monet or Renoir, but he preferred Pissarro's naivety to their brilliant facility. 'I'm a rustic man by nature, melancholic, I look coarse and primitive, and people only come to like me after long acquaintance', Pissarro once wrote to his son Lucien[2]. Gauguin resembled Pissarro in his concern for truthfulness; he was more inclined to shock than to charm, to dig beneath surfaces than dwell on them.

The studies of light and space on which Gauguin had been working over the previous few years were now abandoned in favour of a denser style. Between 1879 and 1883, he was frequently to be found in Pontoise or Osny, working alongside his master. He thus became part of the Pissarro 'family'; he was friendly with Cézanne, whose work fascinated him, with Guillaumin (but this relationship has left no documentary trace) and with the less famous but rather charming landscape painter Victor Vignon. With the latter he exchanged a work painted in Pissarro territory; his 1888-1890 sketchbook records 'Vignon (Pontoise) swap'[3].

Gauguin also painted in Paris. Here it was his immediate environment that interested him, first that of Vaugirard, where he had been living since 1877, though the first known paintings of it date from 1879; later that of rue Carcel (see *Market gardens, 55*, and *Church, 69*, insets).

Experiments

We can see from certain of the surviving studies that Gauguin quickly assimilated classical Impressionism and its rendering of coloured light. No less inquisitive on that account, he experimented with different kinds of brushwork (intricate, bold, dense, loose, etc.), manner, and compositional technique (textures holding the picture together, detached forms, etc.), and, in 1880-1881, with nocturnal scenes. The paintings that explore the evocative qualities of abstract or decorative backgrounds, beginning in 1880 with still lifes (see *61, 62, 63*), are perhaps among of the most personal of these ventures.

◀ *Street, Osny (106),* detail.

Camille Pissarro. Album Schuffenecker, p. 20. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Département des arts graphiques, fonds du Musée d'Orsay. Photo: RMN.

Cézanne. Album Schuffenecker, p. 20. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Département des arts graphiques, fonds du Musée d'Orsay. Photo: RMN.

Gauguin had not given up large-scale formats. The 1879 painting *Apple Trees (52)* was painted according to the classical formula of a preparatory study and a more carefully worked-up 'fair copy'; it looks like a Salon work. The same might be said of *Woman Sewing (64)* of 1880. In 1881, Gauguin's interest in elaborate compositions emerged still more clearly in *Interior, Rue Carcel (76)*, this time combining experimentalism with the large format.

A major figure

We do not know whether Gauguin came to work in Pontoise in 1880; if he did, we have no record of the fact in either painting or letter. By contrast, we know that, in 1881 and 1882, he stayed at 85 quai de Pothuis, where Pissarro and family lived from July 1881 to December 1882. There he met Cézanne, who had moved to 31 quai de Pothuis in May-October 1881. Cézanne had never painted like anyone else at all, and Gauguin was fascinated. 'Has Mr Césanne* found the exact formula for work acknowledged by everyone? If he [has] found the secret of concentrating the exacerbated expression of all his feelings into one solitary procedure, I beg you, make him talk in his sleep'. Thus Gauguin to Pissarro in July 1881[4]: clearly there had been impassioned debates. Cézanne was ten years older than Gauguin; during the 1860s he had steered a defiantly solitary course, but, over the following decade, he had lightened his palette and grown closer to Pissarro, all the while keeping classical Impressionism at arm's length. When he met Gauguin, Cézanne was exploring techniques at several removes from the atmospheric Impressionism in which Gauguin had just steeped himself. These included the distortion or sculpting of space, forms built from faceted or simplified volumes, and an increasing emphasis on the surface of the picture; this he animated, disrupted or constructed by broadening or elongating his brushstrokes, grouping them in sometimes divergent sets of parallel marks.

Into unknown territory

This radical approach stimulated Gauguin's own quest for innovation, though he was almost certainly more influenced by Cézanne's recent work than by his crude, swirling paintings of the 1860s. At all events, starting in 1881, Gauguin's own work became increasingly experimental. We do not know whether the very personal treatment of space in *Interior (76)* was an upshot of his meeting with Cézanne; Gauguin may have taken this route spontaneously. It was an avenue that continued to fascinate him (see the introduction to his 1886 Breton campaign, and *Wrestlers, 298*, inset). In either case, Gauguin was clearly undertaking something akin to a programme of research. He wrote to Pissarro: 'I've a lot of things in progress to show you that I hope that you'll be interested in I'm not looking for results these are documents that I'm putting aside for later'[5].

As early as 1881, *Flowers (80, 81)* displays a certain opacity of form, a surface animated by long, overt brushstrokes. There followed intermittent attempts to create dynamic or coarse surfaces (see *China Asters, 37*, inset, and *Church, 49*), many of them with surfaces as disturbed and opaque as Cézanne's.

In 1882, the Pontoise quarry studies display surfaces threaded with currents of thwarted energy, and distorted or simplified spaces that undoubtedly reflect the influence of Cézanne. These are the years when Gauguin sometimes seemed to sculpt volumes and spaces within the surface of the picture, in the manner of those Cézanne paintings in which the relation between painted surface and represented depth is at its most subtle. At Osny, it was again Cézanne who led Gauguin to attempt simplified volumes, complex compositions defiant of all 'normal' stability, and surfaces to which long diagonal brushstrokes impart a powerful rhythm (see *Farm, 103*, *Street, 106*, the still life *107*, and many others).

It should be noted that diagonal brushstrokes featured in Gauguin's repertory before he frequented Cézanne: see *Church (49)*. But Cézanne's example encouraged him toward a more systematic and long-term use of them (see *Watering Place, 194*, inset on foliage).

Gauguin attempted few large canvases during the experimental years of 1882-1883. The attraction of large, ambitious and highly finished canvases gave way to an interest in studies and repeats: these systematic variations facilitated stylistic experiment. In this frame of mind Gauguin set about making repeats of his own work (see *Quarries, 86*, inset), and often worked on motifs that Pissarro had painted in the period 1881-83; for these, he sometimes adopted his master's style, but more often used the motif to distance himself from that style with his audacious experiments (see *Osny, Rue de Pontoise, Winter, 99*, inset).

Gauguin's interest in Cézanne was a lasting one. Other aspects of that revolutionary corpus proved inspirational in 1888 (see the still life *144*, inset, and *Vision, 308*, inset).

[1] H. Dorra: 'A Suburban Landscape by Gauguin', *Smith College Museum of Art Bulletin*, 1953, nos. 33-34, p. 3.
[2] Camille to Lucien Pissarro, 20 November 1883 (Bailly-Herzberg 190).
[3] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 224.
[4] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, July 1881 (Merlhès 16).
[5] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, May or June 1882 (Merlhès 23).

Gauguin by Pissarro and *Pissarro* by Gauguin, drawings, c. 1879-1883. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Département des arts graphiques, fonds du Musée d'Orsay. Photo: RMN.

47

47
Geese on the Farm

Canvas. 0.60 × 1.00
Signed lower left: *p. Gauguin 1879*

This rather large and deliberate composition may have been painted from a study that has since disappeared.
It is, in any case, the only known work that can be identified with the *Farm at Pontoise* shown at the fifth Impressionist exhibition. The presence of chimneys (right and background) fits a Pontoise location; several factories already existed in the region, notably on the banks of the Viosne and on the left bank of the Oise, near Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône[1]. Painted not far from where Pissarro lived, this work may have been made with him or under his influence, though the Impressionist manner is not perfectly assimilated. It may belong to Gauguin's very first attempts to paint alongside Pissarro.

[1] R.R. Bretell: *Pissarro and Pontoise*, 1990, pp. 22-25, 73-97.

Exhibitions:
5e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 10 rue des Pyramides, 1880, no. 61 (*Farm at Pontoise*).
Choix d'un amateur, Paris, Robert Schmit, 1977, no. 5.
Salon d'automne, Paris, Grand Palais, 1978, no number.

Provenance:
Private collection, Germany.
Turitz, Sweden, c. 1977.
Private collection, USA.

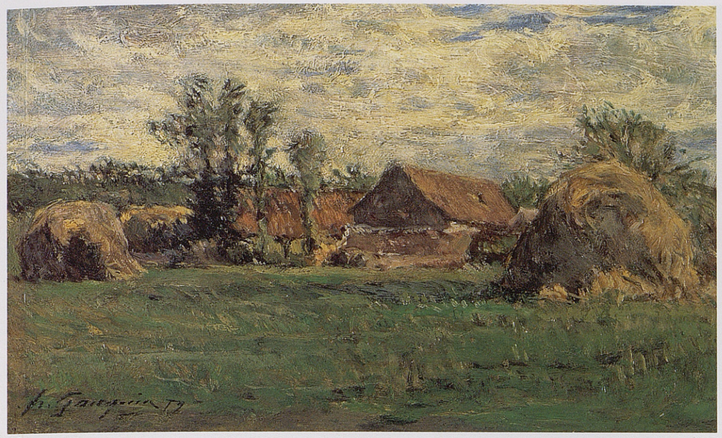
48
Haystacks

Oil on wood. 0.15 × 0.24
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 79
W34

A private collector possesses a little gouache of the same format and identical subject. One of the two works is a faithful reproduction of the other; one would expect the oil painting to have been based on the gouache.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 34 (repr.).

Provenance:
Bernheim-Jeune (c. 1924?).
P.N.M. Stuyt, Amsterdam, c. 1950.
E.A.P. Klein, Amsterdam, c. 1957.
Mrs P.A. Chipman, Montreal.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 29 November 1976, no. 24.
Sale (Parviz, London), New York, Sotheby's, 17 May 1978, no. 35A (to Mr and Mrs Seth M. Glickenhaus, Scarsdale, New York).
Private collection.



48

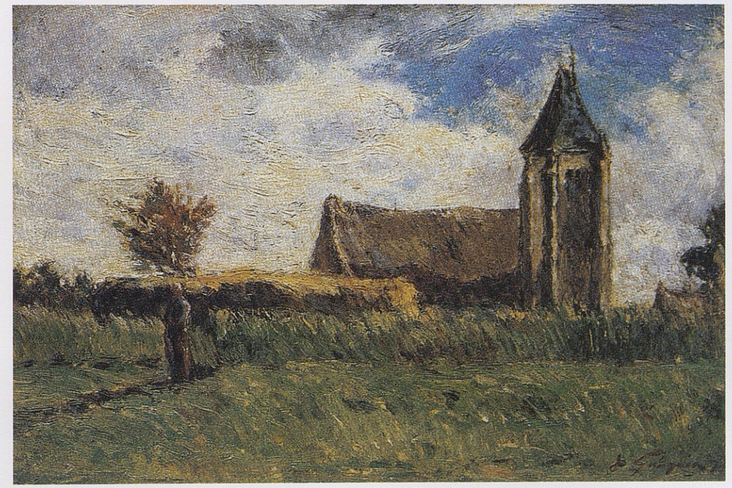
49
Country Church

Oil on wood. 0.125 × 0.195
Signed and dated lower right:
p Gauguin 7 [9?]

The date is difficult to read but this little work is clearly akin to *Haystacks (48)*. The Gothic church, with its buttresses and hipped slate roof, has not yet been identified. Though the title *Landscape with Church, Near Pontoise* traditionally given to this picture is perfectly plausible, the church itself seems not to be among those listed by the Service du Pré-inventaire du Val d'Oise. Is it perhaps in the nearby Vexin or plaine de France? This type of church is found in several regions. The potential field of investigation is therefore enormous, since Gauguin's country expeditions of 1879 are completely uncharted.
The technique is surprising; the influence of Pissarro is much less clear than in *Apple Trees* or the snow paintings and Vaugirard views of this period (see *50-58*). Gauguin's temperamental inclination to experiment is again in evidence. Though there is an evident kinship with *Farm (47)* and *Haystacks (48)*, it also marks a return to the turbulent manner of *Port de Javel (29)*. But here the surface is more carefully constructed in long brushstrokes that sculpt the forms. It is just possible that this effect reflects the influence of Cézanne, whose works Gauguin could have seen at the Impressionist exhibitions of 1874 and 1877. Certainly he was not yet frequenting Cézanne. It was, of course, Cézanne's example that led him, in the early 1880s, to develop and vary this kind of treatment. We might thus compare this work with one of the views of Osny, such as *103*.

Exhibitions:
Paul Gauguin et ses amis, Paris, galerie Kléber, 1949, no. 53.

Provenance:
Victor Bossuat, Montmorency.
Paul Augier, Paris.
Sale [P. Augier], London, Sotheby's, 3 December 1980, no. 11 (to Monty Fisher, Beverly Hills, California).



49

50

50
Apple Trees at l'Hermitage I

Canvas. 0.465 × 0.655
W32

We know this work only through the reproduction in the exhibition catalogue of 1928. Of the three versions of this motif (the others are *51* and *52*), this must be the first and was no doubt painted from nature.
The title given to *52* in the 1880 exhibition makes it possible to situate this motif at l'Hermitage. It must have been painted on the hill that dominates the eastern part of the quarter, in the still very rural land above the Gratte Coqs track. The houses of l'Hermitage are hidden; they are in the ravine that separates the field in the foreground from the hills visible in the background. The latter are north of Pontoise and are today built up. Pissarro lived close by, in this valley, at 18bis rue de l'Hermitage. This study must surely be the product of one of Gauguin's visits to Pissarro, who was now his teacher. There is little evidence to indicate when his visits took place though we know that there was one in September.

But there are no apples either on the trees or the ground, so it seems that this work dates from a spring visit.

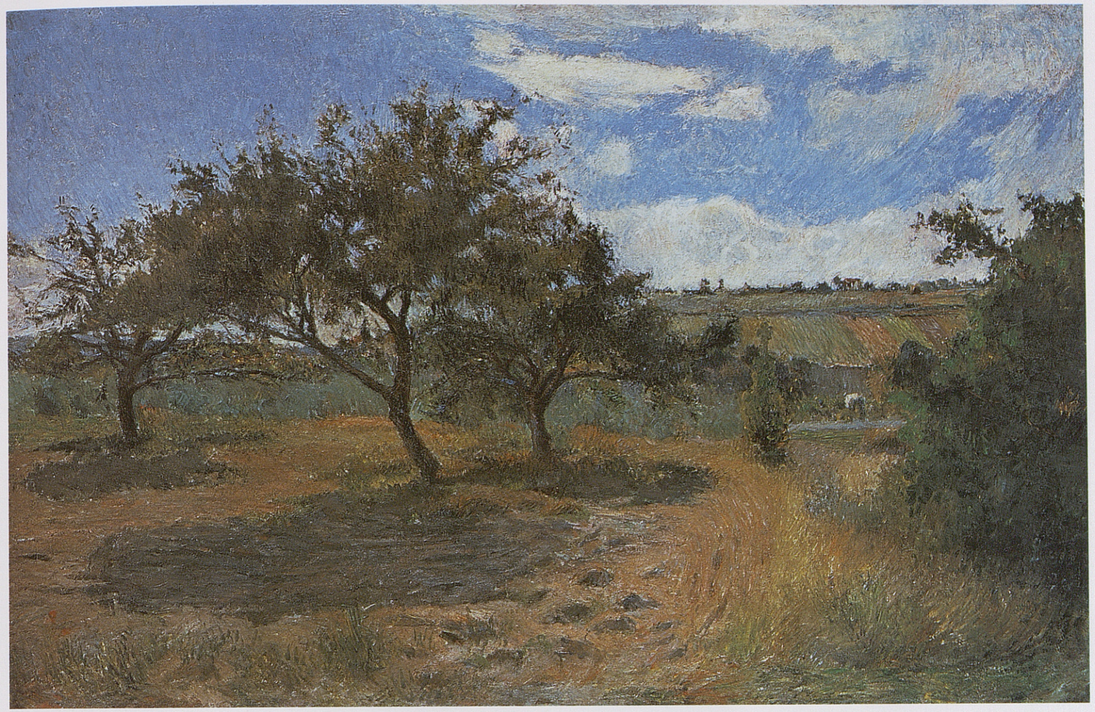
It is, at all events, among the most perfectly 'Pissarran' works of Gauguin, both in its tight, intricate brushwork, and its motif. Indeed, the year before, Pissarro had painted a similar subject in this very neighbourhood (*Landscape Near Pontoise*, Pissarro-Venturi 453) and Gauguin owned the resulting work. Gauguin's satisfaction with this study may be gauged from the fact that he made two further versions of it.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 32, (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 25.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 18 or 20 (depending on catalogue edition).
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 9.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 10.

Provenance:
The painter Joyannes Wilhjelm, Copenhagen, c. 1926.
Thannhauser, Berlin, c. 1928 (no. 1161 in a German-language notebook).
Dr Max Wetterweld, Basel.
On the London art market, 1968.

C. Pissarro: *Landscape near Pontoise* (Pissarro-Venturi 453). Winterthur, Collection Oskar Reinhart 'Am Römerholz'.



51

51
Apple Trees at l'Hermitage II

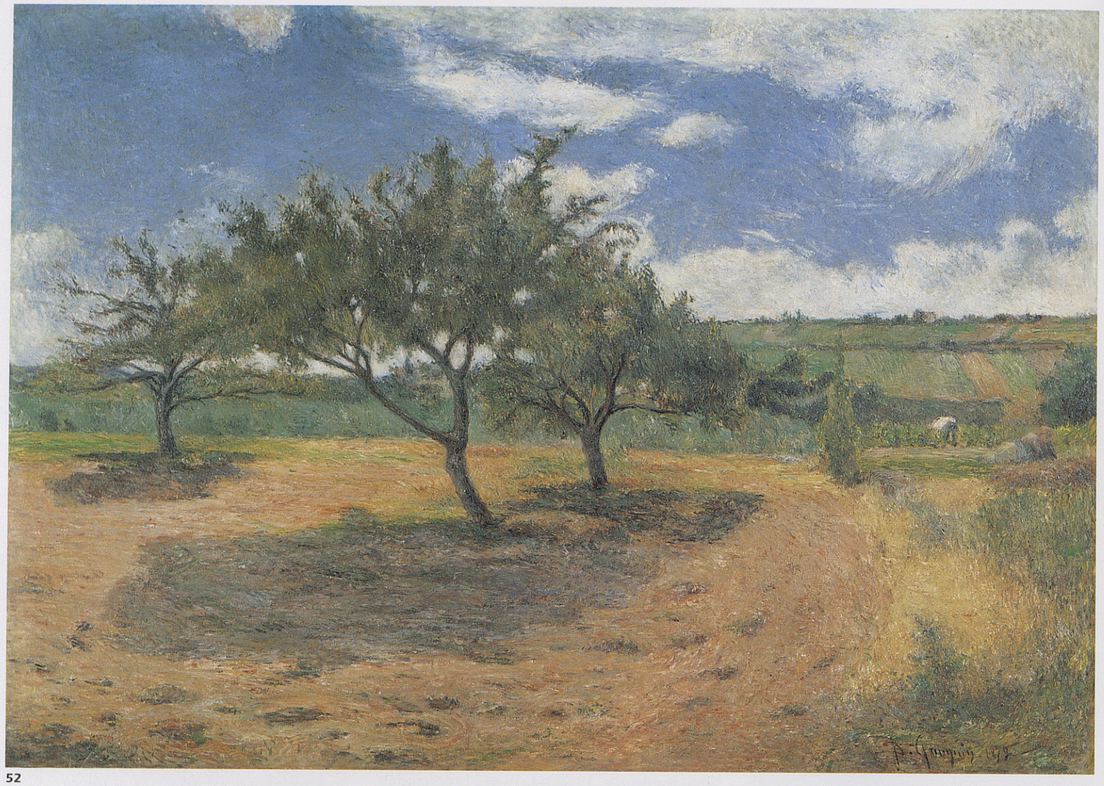
Canvas. 0.655 × 1.005
W33

A repeat, with some variations, of *50*; cf. also *52*. On repeats, see *Quarries (86)*, inset.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 33 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 19 or 21 (depending on the catalogue edition).
Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1949-50, no. 4.
Washington D.C., Chicago and Paris, 1988-1989, no. 2.
Gauguin, les XX et La Libre Esthétique, Liège, Salle Saint-Georges, 1994-1995, no. 1.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 3.

Provenance:
Dr Carl Melchior, Hamburg, c. 1928.
Galerie Tanner, Zurich.
Dr Willi Raeber, Basel, c. 1949.
Dr Max Fretz, Aarau, c. 1949.
Bequeathed by Dr Fretz in 1958 to:
Aarau (Switzerland), Aargauer Kunsthaus Aarau – 58/1086.



52

52
Apple Trees at l'Hermitage III

Canvas. 0.88 × 1.15
Signed and dated lower right:
p. Gauguin 1879
W31

This is a slightly varied repeat of *51*, from which the silhouette of the trunks, the shadows, the grasses in the foreground and the arrangement of the clouds are taken. Much less use is made of *50*, with which this painting shares the absence of the bushes on the right.
It thus took Gauguin two attempts before he reached this definitive third version of the motif, which is larger than the others and the only one to be signed. It was clearly painted in the studio with a view to exhibition. Now that he had joined the camp of the moderns, Gauguin had presumably given up any thought of the Salon; he sent the picture to the Impressionist exhibition in the spring of 1880.

It cannot have been painted before September, when Gauguin bought the roll out of which he cut this canvas. 'I'm glad I had the idea of making my own canvases,' he wrote to Pissarro on 26 September, 'I make a saving of more than half./ I found 10 metres of canvas 1.20m wide for 18f you see it's not expensive, it's true it was in a bankrupt shop and my carpenter made me stretchers quite cheap'[1].
The more upright signature, like that of *Snow at Vaugirard II (57)*, perhaps appeared during the second half of the year.

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 26 September 1879 (Merlhès 11).

Documents and bibliography:
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe 1952), p. 228: '[sold to] Durand-Ruel *Pommiers Pontoise* [FF] 700'.
F.v.O [Fritz von Ostini]: 'Französische Künstler im Müchner Kunstverein', *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, 6 September 1906 (in P. Kropmanns: *Gauguin und die Schule von Pont-Aven* […], 1997, pp. 33, 87, note 86): 'a simple, delicate, brightly coloured Parisian landscape, not yet influenced by the new ideas' [German original].
Spectator: 'Frankfurter Kunstschau (Die Franzosen im Kunstverein)', *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 16 October 1906 (in Kropmanns, 1997, p. 88, note 88): 'The colours of this landscape from the Parisian area are superlative, and the treatment of the sky magisterial' [German original].
P. Fechter: 'Die Impressionisten bei Arnold', *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten*, 10 November 1906 (in Kropmanns, 1997, pp. 34, 88, note 90): 'what a feeling of peace and tranquillity hangs over the Landscape of the Paris area' [German original].

R.S. [Richard Stiller]: 'Die Ausstellung der französichen Maler bei Arnold', *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 23 November 1906 (in Kropmanns, 1997, pp. 33, 88, note 89): 'the landscape from the Paris area, still a little restrained' [German original].
E. Kuhnel: 'Die Sammlung Francisco Llobet in Buenos Aires', *Kunst und Künstler*, August 1926, pp. 423, 425 (repr.).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 31 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
5e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 10 rue des Pyramides, 1880, no. 55 (*The Apple Trees of l'Ermitage*).
Ausstellung Französischer Künstler, Germany 1906-1907 (Munich, Kunstverein, September 1906; Frankfurt, Kunstverein, October; Dresden, Arnold, November; Karlsruhe, Badischer Kunstverein, December 1906-January 1907; Stuttgart, Württembergischer Kunstverein, January 1907), no. 35 (*Landscape near Paris*, Schuffenecker Collection, for sale): the four German critics cited above (**D**) strengthen the identification with the present picture).
Vincent Van Gogh und Paul Gauguin, Munich, W. Zimmerman Gallery, March-April 1908, no. 15: *In the Environs of Paris* [in Kropmanns, 1997, p. 40; on p. 91, note 128, the author notes that according to the article by Uhde-Bernays: 'Rundschau-München', *Monatsheften für Kunstswissenschaft*, 1908, no. 3, p. 203, the pictures in this exhibition belonged to Schuffenecker and had already been exhibited at Mannheim and Berlin].
Colección Francisco Llobet, Buenos Aires, Sociedad Amigos del Arte, 1924, no. 22.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 9.

Provenance:
Bought from Gauguin by Durand-Ruel in March 1881 – stock 912: *Landscape*, 800 F. Despite the price difference, this must be the same work as the *Apple Trees Pontoise* whose sale to Durand-Ruel for FF 700 Gauguin noted (**D**), since the total number of transactions and the total price is the same in the sketchbook as in the 1881 registers of Durand-Ruel (the very high purchase price tells us that this does indeed refer to this version of the *Apple Trees*, the largest of the three).
Durand-Ruel did not buy any further works from Gauguin, so it is certainly this *Landscape* that recurs in the gallery's inventories of 1890 (stock 217) and 1891 (stock 1728), and which was sold in July 1906, along with another picture acquired in 1881 (see *Wall by Night, 72*), to Schuffenecker. This is very likely Amédée Schuffenecker, Émile's brother, who dealt in Gauguin works early in the 1900s (on Amédée, see *Geese in the Meadow, 184*, inset).
Francisco Llobet, Buenos Aires, c. 1924.
Mr and Mrs William Lasdon, New York.
Mrs N. Laitman (on loan since 1994 to:)
Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (Pennsylvania).

53

53
Village Path, probably Père Dupin's Path

Canvas. 0.31 × 0.47
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 79.
W35

The only known work that matches the title *La Sente du Père Dupin* borne by a painting in the 1880 exhibition.
We have found no trace of this path at Pontoise, but it must have been in that region. It may have gained its name from a member of the Tupin family, which once lived locally; the memory of a 'Tupin pond' remains in the village of Ennery, just north of Pontoise.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 35 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Very probably: *5e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 10 rue des Pyramides, 1880, no. 59 (*Père Dupin's Path*).

Provenance:
Schuffenecker: a reproduction of this painting accompanied by the indication '1500 f' appears in a set of Druet-Vizzavona photographs that belonged to Jeanne Schuffenecker; they were no doubt taken during the first quarter of the 20th century to facilitate the sale of these works. Jeanne would have had them from her uncle Amédée, who dealt in Gauguin works early in the century (on Amédée, see *Geese in the Meadow, 184*, inset).
Bought from Bauer, Paris, by Durand-Ruel, August 1930 (stock 13089).
Sold by Durand-Ruel to H.T. Clifton, Liverpool, August 1937.
Alberto Phelps, Caracas, c. 1964.

54
Riverside

Canvas. 0.31 × 0.47
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 1879
W38bis

This may show the River Oise in the neighbourhood of Pontoise.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 38bis (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *5e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 10 rue des Pyramides, 1880, no. 60 (*Study*).
Vincent van Gogh en zijn Tijdgenooten, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum, 1930, no. 150.

Provenance:
Independent Gallery, Huntingdon, England.
The Earl of Sandwich, Huntingdon, c. 1930.
Sale, The Dowager Countess of Sandwich, London, Christie's, 30 November 1962, no. 50 (bought in).
Sale, Amiya, Countess of Sandwich, London, Christie's, 27 November 1964, no. 89.
The Arnold D. Frese Foundation sale, New York, Christie's, 19 May 1981, no. 320 (bought in).
The Arnold D. Frese Foundation sale, New York, Christie's, 17 February 1982, no. 8 (to Armand J. Castellani, Niagara Falls, NY).
Private collection, USA.
On the US art market in 1985.

55
Vaugirard Market Gardens

Canvas. 0.66 × 1.00
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 79
W36

The title adopted is that under which Gauguin exhibited this work in 1880.
It does indeed represent the market gardens that bordered the rue des Fourneaux (today rue Falguière) at nos. 80 and 86; they are depicted looking southward from the impasse Frémin (now la cité Falguière), at the entrance to which Gauguin rented a house in June 1877.

Under the windows of Gauguin's house, in a sort of hollow overlooked by the impasse Frémin, lay some 13,000 m² of market gardens with their complement of houses, storerooms, greenhouses, and a stable and hay loft, all belonging to Jean-Marie Frémin of 23 rue de Quintinie, whose family had given its name to the impasse. At 80 rue des Fourneaux, there was little but the house (its roof appears in the left foreground but it is more clearly seen in *58*). At no. 86, by contrast, there was over 11,000 m² of market gardens, managed by a member of the family ('Frémin, gardener') and a two-storey house of 73 m², which can be seen here centre left (it cannot be the next house along, no. 93, which had only one floor). In the middle distance, centre right, one can see the pyramids of cobblestones belonging to the municipal dépôt at 108 rue des Fourneaux, on the corner of the rue des Volontaires. Left of that is surely the 'great six-span shelter' of a second cobble dépôt on the other side of the rue des Fourneaux, on the corner of the rue de Cotentin[1].

54

55

This rural environment made a strong impression on Gauguin's memory: 'my house stands some 15 metres above a market garden. I shout to the gardener, Have you got a cantaloupe melon?'[2]

It seems certain that *Houses, Vaugirard (58)*, which represents the same site from a slightly different angle, was painted from Gauguin's house. The point of view here is higher and slightly closer to the end of the impasse Frémin. It seems, then, that Gauguin set up his easel in one of the three upstairs rooms of the house, perhaps indeed the one in which he had his studio, where he painted (for example) *Woman Sewing (64)*. He can hardly have painted this view from the house of his neighbour, the sculptor Bouillot, which had only the one floor (see inset). The buildings of the Institut Pasteur now stand where these gardens were, but the marked change of level between the Institut and the impasse remains.

[1] Cadastre memorandum books of 1863 and 1876.
[2] Paul Gauguin: *Avant et après*, 1903, p. 138.

Vaugirard, plan of the quarter.
The cross marks Gauguin's house.

54
Riverside

Canvas. 0.31 × 0.47
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 1879
W38bis

This may show the River Oise in the neighbourhood of Pontoise.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 38bis (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *5e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 10 rue des Pyramides, 1880, no. 60 (*Study*).
Vincent van Gogh en zijn Tijdgenooten, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum, 1930, no. 150.

Provenance:
Independent Gallery, Huntingdon, England.
The Earl of Sandwich, Huntingdon, c. 1930.
Sale, The Dowager Countess of Sandwich, London, Christie's, 30 November 1962, no. 50 (bought in).
Sale, Amiya, Countess of Sandwich, London, Christie's, 27 November 1964, no. 89.
The Arnold D. Frese Foundation sale, New York, Christie's, 19 May 1981, no. 320 (bought in).
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54

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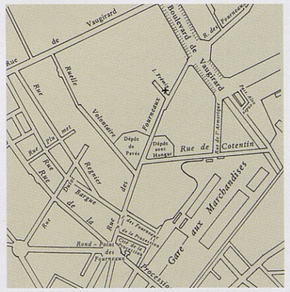
[1] Cadastre memorandum books of 1863 and 1876.
[2] Paul Gauguin: *Avant et après*, 1903, p. 138.



Vaugirard, plan of the quarter.
The cross marks Gauguin's house.

L'Impasse Frémin

On leaving the more modern environment of the Étoile district, Gauguin moved with his family to no. 1, impasse Frémin, on the corner of 74 rue des Fourneaux. On 1 June 1877, he signed a three-year lease for FF 850 per quarter with Auguste Achille Boucard (of Bourg-la-Reine), who owned this five-room, 480 m² house, and the land on its left, at the corner of the rue des Fourneaux, a vacant site of 200 m².

Impasse Frémin, looking toward rue Falguière. Bouillot's studios are seen to the right. Gauguin's house stood where the large block in the background now stands.

Pastoral Paris ■ Vaugirard remained a rural area full of artisans; in 1870, Edmond de Goncourt recorded seeing chickens and goats there. It was distinctly less middle-class than the Étoile area, and Gauguin's choice no doubt reflected the desire of the young 'stockbroker's clerk'[1] for a less conventional life. Gauguin thought of the impasse as a bit of a 'den of thieves'[2]; a carpenter had previously lived in the house, and their neighbour opposite was 'old' Fourel (J.B. Fourel), a carter whose suicide Gauguin recorded in *Avant et après*[3]. At no. 6 lived the widow of Jean-Jacques Frémin, whose family had originally owned the whole area.

An excellent neighbour ■ On the odd-numbered side, by contrast, where Gauguin lived, the first seeds of what was soon to grow into an artist's colony had been sown. The sculptor Jules-Ernest Bouillot (born in Paris on 3 October 1837) had bought the former no. 3, by then no. 11, in 1874. This was a wood-framed and boarded storehouse lined with bitumen felt. He soon replaced it with a house comprising three rooms and a studio, the very studio where Gauguin later made his first sculptures under Bouillot's guidance. And it should be mentioned that the first known works by Gauguin in this new discipline bear the mark of his mentor.

Gauguin revelled in having the Bouillots as neighbours, and Mette Gauguin was very close to Mme Bouillot[4]. Bouillot served as witness when the birth of Aline Gauguin was declared in December 1877; when Clovis was born in May 1879, Bouillot's father, who lived with his son, performed the same service; his name was Jacques Bouillot (born in the Creuse in 1803), and the electoral roll gives his profession as 'sculptor' like that of his son. The register of births more prosaically records him as a 'stove setter'.
It seems possible that Gauguin was particularly absorbed by sculpture during the years 1877 and 1878 for which we have so few paintings, and returned to painting under the impulse of his encounter with Pissarro. We cannot know. No more sculptures than paintings have come down to us for that period. On the other hand, when the births of Aline and Clovis were declared, in each case the second witness was a sculptor.

Merlhès believes that Bouillot was essentially a 'pointer' or sculptor's assistant[5]; he did not exhibit at the Salon before 1888. In any case, he earned a handsome living, eventually owning almost the entire odd-numbered side of the impasse Frémin. In 1881, it seems that he had two further studios built next to his; then, in 1884, a little brick tenement building on the market garden side. The latter was occupied by a succession of artists, among them the sculptor Aubé, whose portrait Gauguin made in pastels (*W66*). These buildings are still visible over a century later, though the studios that give onto the street are so dilapidated that demolition seems inevitable.
In 1884, Bouillot also bought the house at no. 1, where Gauguin had lived. It may even have been he who had it demolished. Little turn-of-the-century tenement buildings arose where Gauguin's no doubt rather rustic house had once stood.

During the three years that he spent in the impasse Frémin, from June 1877 to October 1880, Gauguin seems to have painted very few Parisian scenes. There were few pictures anyway before 1879 (see the introduction to 1873-1878), and they were mostly painted either in the countryside, with Pissarro, or at no. 1 impasse Frémin. No doubt Gauguin was simply content with his immediate surroundings.

[1] Electoral roll of the XV arrondissement, 1878.
[2] Paul Gauguin: *Avant et après*, p. 138.
[3] *Avant et après*, p. 138.
[4] See Gauguin's letters to Mette of 5-10 July 1886 (Merlhès 102) and 24 November 1887 (Merlhès 136).
[5] V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 330.

J.-E. Bouillot: *L'Abbé Corblet*, archaeologist. Amiens, Musée de Picardie.

Documents and bibliography:
H. Dorra: 'A Suburban Landscape by Gauguin', *Smith College Museum of Art Bulletin*, 1953, pp. 2-4 (repr.).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 36 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
5e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 10 rue des Pyramides, 1880.
New York, Wildenstein, 1936, no. 1a.
Cambridge (Massachusetts), Fogg Art Museum, 1936, no. 2.
Baltimore (Maryland), The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1936, no. 2.
Paris, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1936, no. 2.
New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1966, no number.

Provenance:
Vollard, c. 1936.
Étienne Bignou, Paris, c. 1938.
Bought in 1953 by:
Northampton (Massachusetts), Smith College Museum of Art – 1953/55.

56
Snow at Vaugirard I

Canvas. 0.415 × 0.490
W38

This study was made during the exceptionally cold spells of December 1879. Gauguin immediately made a repeat of it: *57*. Some while later, elements of it were absorbed into *162* and a fan[1] painted in Denmark in early 1885. The subject of this painting is more clearly legible in *57* (q.v.).

[1] Gauguin og Van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 17.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 38 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 1.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 3.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 7.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 7.

Provenance:
Brought to Denmark by Gauguin in late 1884.
Cf. *162*, painted in Copenhagen from this study.
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Dr K.F. Caroe, Copenhagen.
Bequeathed by Dr Caroe to the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.
Transferred in 1922 to:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – SMK 3567.

56

57

57
Snow at Vaugirard II

Canvas. 0.605 × 0.805
Signed and dated lower right:
p. Gauguin 1879
W37

Reflecting Gauguin's effort to produce a more polished version of *56*, this repeat still follows a fairly classical formula (on repeats in general, see *Quarries, 86*, inset). The subject is clearer and easier to grasp. Gauguin set up his easel right beside his house at 1 impasse Frémin (see *Market Gardens, 55*, inset) and slightly nearer the end of the impasse than in *55* or *Houses, Vaugirard (58)*. This view looks directly south. In the foreground can be seen the raised ground around Gauguin's house. Then we see the roof of 80 rue des Fourneaux (which is also visible, from slightly different angles, in *55* and *58*), a house built in the declivity occupied by the market gardens, which were overlooked by the impasse and the rue des Fourneaux. The tenement building and wall that dominate the background are in rue des Fourneaux.

Documents and bibliography:

A. Silvestre: 'Exposition de la rue des Pyramides – premier article', *La Vie Moderne*, 24 April 1880, p. 262: 'Monsieur Gauguin's exhibition has certain merits, and his Snow Effect, no. 57, is very well judged. But his technique is exaggerated and terribly clumsy. It is in every respect the opposite of the very independent and resolute style of Monsieur Degas. The wall seems to be suffocating as if beneath excessively weighty tapestries' (one wonders whether the second part of this passage still refers to *Snow at Vaugirard*, or alludes to a another work in the same exhibition).
Gauguin's album c. 1888 (Album Briant), f° 5, cites the work for which Gauguin swapped this painting: 'Miss Cassatt young lady with fan'.
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 228: 'Miss Cassatt Snow swapped'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 37 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin Studies. D. Gauguin's Cassatt', *The Burlington Magazine*, April 1967, pp. 226-227 (on the exchange between Gauguin and Mary Cassatt, before identification of the Cassatt pastel).
M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin, The Collector', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, pp. 593, 605 (on the same subject, after identification of the Cassatt pastel, reproduced fig. 69).

M. Cassatt: *Girl in Theatre-Box*, drawing, c. 1880 (Breeskin 72). Private collection. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

Exhibitions:

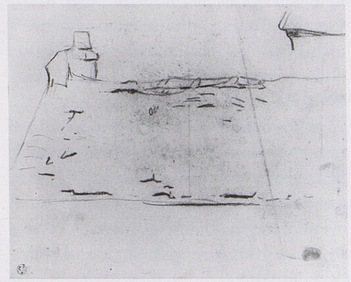
5e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 10 rue des Pyramides, 1880, no. 57 (*Snow Effect*).
According to the Budapest National Gallery: *Oeuvres de Gauguin, Cézanne, etc.*, Budapest, Nemzeti Szalon, May 1907; it must have been no. 24, 31, 38, 48 or 59 of this exhibition, all of which were entitled *Paysage* or *Étude de paysage*.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 4.

Provenance:

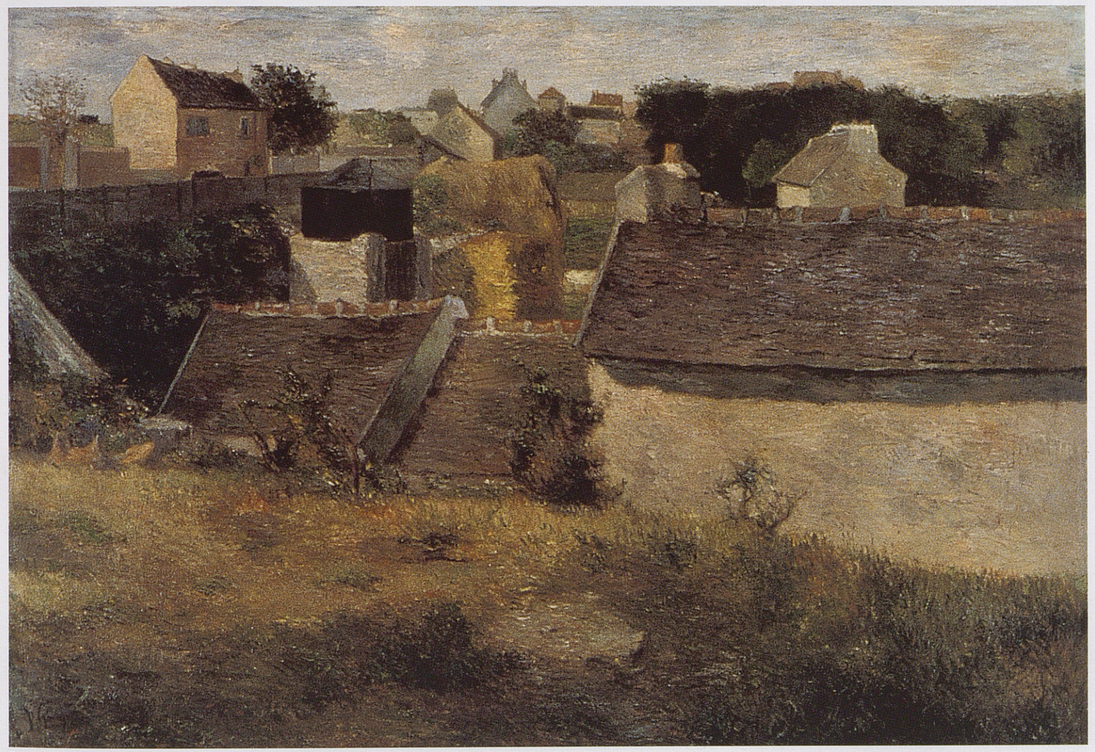
Since no other 'snow effect' of these years can have belonged to Mary Cassatt, this must be the one which Gauguin exchanged (see Gauguin's album and sketchbook, **D** above) for her pastel *Young Girl in a [Theatre-] Box* (Breeskin 72), which was identified by M. Bodelsen (**D**, 1970). The exchange took place before Gauguin left for Denmark in 1884; the pastel was in Copenhagen by December 1885, as Gauguin's letter to Mette of December 1885 (Merlhès 90) proves. Both works apparently featured in the 1880 Impressionist exhibition, so the exchange may have occurred then.
Charles Hessèle, print dealer, Paris.
Bought from him in 1907 by:
Budapest, Szépmüvészeti Múzeum – 204 B.

58
Houses, Vaugirard

Canvas. 0.81 × 1.15
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 1880
W44



Roof, sketch. Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 24 *verso*. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.



58

This view is the one Gauguin enjoyed (looking south south-west) from his home at no. 1 impasse Frémin, the surroundings of which are known to us from *Market Gardens* (*55*, see inset). To the left are the embankment and house in the rue des Fourneaux that appear in the *Snow* paintings, *56* and *57*, though for this painting Gauguin positioned himself closer to the junction. In the right background, there is a slightly more frontal view of the houses and trees that appear in *Market Gardens*. Since the viewpoint here is not raised, the view is more encumbered, and a curtain of trees masks the cobble dépôt and its sheds; Gauguin painted the picture from just in front of his house, on the raised ground overlooking the market gardens.

In *Market Gardens*, the land around 86 rue des Fourneaux is shown; here, we mainly see no. 80, with the house next to Gauguin's, its roof here appearing at a slightly different angle from those shown in *55*, *56* and *57*. It is described in the land use memorandum books as a 'market gardener's house raised by one storey' with a surface area of 137 m². To its left is a 'building used as store house and stable, with a hay-loft over it'. All of this was rented from the owner, Jean-Marie Frémin, by the gardener Boutefoy, presumably the one to whom Gauguin called out his requests for Cantaloupe melons[1].

A sketch of the roof of the main house, to the right, can be seen on page 24 *verso* of the Gauguin sketchbook now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm[2].

This work must have been painted on a piece of the roll of canvas 1.20 metres wide that Gauguin bought in September 1879 (see *Apple Trees, 52*). The presence of the haystacks beside the cistern suggests that the painting dates from the second half of the year.

[1] Paul Gauguin: *Avant et après*, p. 138.
[2] Gauguin's sketchbook, late 1870s-early 1880s (Bjurström, 1986).

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 44 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *6e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 35 boulevard des Capucines, April 1881, no. 31 (*My Landlady's Plot of Ground*). At the time of the exhibition, Gauguin's *propriétaire* was not a woman but a man: Auguste Achille Boucard, to whom the embankment in the foreground, of course, belonged. The remainder – the houses in the background – belonged to the Frémin family, which had given its name to the impasse. The widow of Jean-Jacques Frémin was still living at no. 6, more or less opposite Gauguin's house. Was this some cavalier reference to the Frémin land? Or was there indeed a Mme Boucard? At all events, both this work and *55* could be the no. 31 of the 1881 exhibition; since, however, *55* had already been exhibited under the title *Maraîchers de Vaugirard*, this work is the likelier of the two.
Vienna, Belvedere, 1960, no. 3.
Washington D.C., Chicago, and Paris, 1988-1989, no. 3.

Provenance:
Schuffenecker. A reproduction of this picture features in a set of Druet-Vizzavona photos that once belonged to Jeanne Schuffenecker. Jeanne must have received these photographs from her uncle Amédée Schuffenecker; he dealt in Gauguin works in the early years of the century (on Amédée, see *Geese in the Meadow, 184*, inset). The photographs may have been made for sales purposes.
Salle Léon Pédron, Paris, Drouot, 2 June 1926, no. 25 (to Mme Pierre Lantz, Paris).
(?) Marie Bell.
Sale, Paris, Charpentier, 16 June 1959, no. 63.
Sam Spiegel, Los Angeles, c. 1960.
On permanent loan from the Sam Spiegel Estate to:
Jerusalem, Israel Museum – B61.1035.

59
Still Life with Oranges

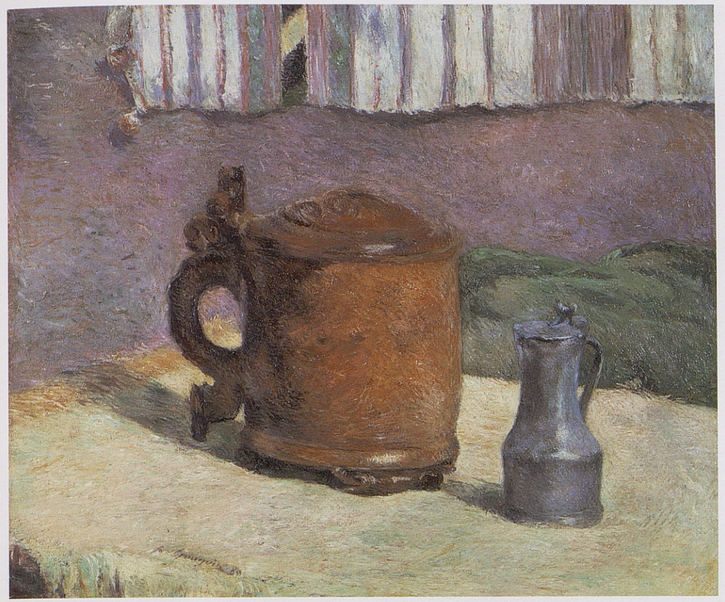
Canvas. 0.33 × 0.46
Signed lower left: *p Gauguin*
W65

Documents and bibliography:
If this is the still life exhibited in 1886, see *Interior (77)*, D.
In any case: Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1880-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 226: 'Chaplet Still life oranges given'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 65 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 42 (*Still Life*). Cf. *Interior (77)*, E.
Ernest Chaplet, Paris, Musée des Arts décoratifs, 1910, no. 179.
Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée départemental du Prieuré, 1985, no. 28.
Gauguin et les peintres de la Bretagne, Japan, 1992, no. 17.
La Ronde des petites Bretonnes. Une évocation de l'art de Pont-Aven autour du chef-d'œuvre de Washington, Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1996-1997, no number.

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to the ceramicist Ernest Chaplet (1835-1909), whom he met around June 1886; see Gauguin's sketchbook entry, **D** above.

59


60

As with the works sold to Bracquemond, noted immediately before these in the book, the works may have changed hands as early as 1886; however, the transactions are not necessarily recorded in chronological order in the sketchbook.
Bequeathed by E. Chaplet to the Musée du Luxembourg, this painting was the first Gauguin work to enter a French national museum.
Transferred to the Louvre in 1929 (RF 2766).
Deposited by the Musées de France in 1955 with:
Rennes (France), Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie – D.55.5.1.

60
Jug and Mug

Canvas. 0.54 × 0.65
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 80
W47

The expressiveness of this painting has gained it a title borrowed from a Lafontaine fable *The Earthen and the Iron Pot*. The title is commonly used, but the painting shows no such thing. The left hand object is a Norwegian wooden *tine*, which, having long remained in the Gauguin family, is now in a British collection. Dated 1740 on its lid, this substantial object (its body alone is 22 cm tall and 19 cm in diameter) is decorated with carved lions, which Gauguin did not take the trouble to represent. It was brought to Paris by Mette Gauguin, and followed the family to rue Carcel, where Gauguin painted it in a still life of 1882, *92*. It then accompanied the Gauguins to Rouen, where it appears in *Clovis Asleep (151)*. It was finally taken back to Copenhagen, where Gauguin painted it in *Interior (164)*. The jug is a pewter one, and made a further appearance in an 1883 still life, *107*.

The tine. Private collection.
Photo: Trafalgar Gallery.

The hanging on the wall above the green cloths is found, in an identical arrangement, in the background of *Woman Sewing (64)*. It may also be visible in *On a Chair (63)*, and even in *Woman Embroidering (65)*. Some have suggested that it is of Peruvian origin, though it shows no very obvious Amerindian characteristics. Did this hanging follow Gauguin to Tahiti? In a photo of *Where Do We Come From?* taken in Gauguin's home in June 1898[1], a striped weaving in pitiful condition shows through its rents the bundled firewood on which the masterpiece is resting.

Painted in the same place as *Woman Sewing (64)*, this picture too bears the date 1880. The question therefore arises whether both were painted in the impasse Frémin, in the studio that Gauguin mentions in relation to *Market Gardens (55)*, or at rue Carcel, to which he moved in October. But the extreme legibility of this composition and, above all, the almost certain mention of *Woman Sewing* in a letter written before the move, suggest that both are from the impasse Frémin period. Moreover, in rue Carcel, the hanging perhaps found its place in a more dimly-lit living room with dark wood panelling (see *Interior, Rue Carcel, 76*).

[1] Reproduced in B. Danielsson: *Gauguin in Tahiti*, Papeete, 1975, p. 208.

Documents and bibliography:
Joyant to De Monfreid, 24 March 1893 (Loize, 1951, no. 138): 'As agreed, I am sending you the pictures and pottery by Gauguin that I have, those deposited with me by you and by Gauguin himself, the things that were not sent to Mme Gauguin in Copenhagen'. The list that follows includes, before a no. 15 and after a series of no. 20 canvases, the following, with no reference to size: '1 canvas; still life, mug and coffee pot'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 47 (repr.).
R.R. Brettell: *An Impressionist Legacy – The Collection of Sara Lee Corporation*, New York, 1986, pp. 30-31 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *5e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 10 rue des Pyramides, 1880, no. 58 (*Still Life*).

Provenance:
Deposited with Boussod and Valadon until April 1893, then returned to De Monfreid by Joyant with the rest of the Boussod stock of Gauguin works: see Joyant's letter to De Monfreid, **D** above.
Schuffenecker – this piece of information comes from Jeanne Schuffenecker and does not include a first name.
Private collection, Paris, c. 1947.
Dr B., c. 1949.
Sale, Mrs Robert E. Ricksen (Palm Beach, Florida), New York, Parke-Bernet, 21 October 1971, no. 93 (to Cummings).
Nathan Cummings, Chicago (Illinois).
Sara Lee Corporation, Chicago (Illinois).

61
Flowers and Carpet (Pansies)

Oil on wood. 0.24 × 0.36
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 1880
W48

The flowers seem to be pansies, which bloom between April and September (the remontant species did not yet exist). The vase also features in a little painting of very similar composition, dated 1881: *81*.

Background ▪ The 'illegible' background of this still life, which confounded the critics of the time (see **D**, below), is a very personal and subtle experiment. It contrives to maintain a sense of depth and relief, but places the emphasis squarely on a decorative surface that foreshadows those of the Nabis. It is one of the first indications of Gauguin's interest in decorative backgrounds of evocative kind; he later worked on them assiduously. Various types appeared that year, some of them more 'abstract', others more pregnant with meaning: see, for example, *On a Chair (63)*, *To Make a Bouquet (62)* and, the following year, *Interior (76)*. Around 1884, he settled on a formula for such backgrounds. The thinking from which this formula arose eventually led to the suggestive 'abstraction' of Synthetism (see the still life *144*, the *tambourin*, *147*, inset, and *Fruit*, *312*, inset).

Documents and bibliography:
H. Trianon: 'Sixième exposition de peinture', *Le Constitutionnel*, 24 April 1881, p. 2: 'yet he allows himself to go astray among the enigmas of impressionism (see his incomprehensible picture entitled *Flowers and Carpet*)'.
Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, July 1881 (Merlhès 16): 'Could you tell me the address of Portier, recently Monsieur de Bellio complained to my wife that his picture had disappeared without trace. I am very embarrassed by this and I can of course only remedy it by putting all the blame on Portier, the true culprit of this piece of negligence'. The picture did eventually find its way into de Bellio's collection, since Vollard later bought it from Dr de Bellio's son-in-law.
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 228: 'de Bellio Still life given'.
Vollard Archives, sales register 1894-1897, entry for 4 October 1895: 'Monsieur Donop […] credit [for] 1 panel of Gauguin vase of flowers on carpet 50'.
Vollard Archives, inventory, 1899: 'no. 3967: Little vase of flowers on a carpet, 24 × 32 [bought from] Gauguin [FF] 50': the provenance must be erroneous.
Vollard Archives, inventory, 1 January 1922: '[no.] 5278 Still life, 24 × 32, [priced FF] 1500'.

61

62

Wildenstein, 1964, no. 48 (repr.).
R. Niculescu: 'G. de Bellio, l'ami des impressionnistes', *Revue roumaine d'Histoire de l'art*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1964, pp. 228, 243.

Exhibitions:
6e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 35 boulevard des Capucines, April 1881, no. 33, (*Flowers and Carpet*, appartient à M. de Bellio).

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to Dr Georges de Bellio, Paris, c. April 1881. We know nothing about the relations between Gauguin and this fervent admirer and collector of the Impressionists. But de Bellio was a friend of Pissarro and had been his medical adviser since 1878 at least (v. J. Bailly-Herzberg: *Correspondance de Pissarro*, vol. I, 1980, p. 161, note 1), so it was probably Pissarro who put Gauguin in contact with him. De Bellio was a homeopath of Romanian extraction, and Pissarro too was a strong believer in homeopathy, to which Gauguin was, in his turn, converted. At all events, the letter to Pissarro of July 1881 (**D** above) speaks of 'these mysterious homeopathic drugs' and makes it clear that this was a subject already under discussion. On de Bellio and his very limited appreciation of the work of Gauguin, see the article by R. Niculescu (**D** above), and *Presbytery (228)*, **P**.
Donop de Monchy (de Bellio's son-in-law), 1894.
Sold by Donop de Monchy to Vollard, 4 October 1895, for FF 50, see Vollard sales register, **D** above.
Bought from Daber in 1940 by a Parisian collector.
Private collection.

62
To Make a Bouquet

Canvas. 0.55 × 0.65
Signed and dated lower right:
p. Gauguin. 1880
W49

Bird

With the exception of the cattle and sheep of certain landscapes, and the occasional – very rare – pet, birds are the creatures that most often recur in Gauguin's early works. Their presence, though evocative, serves mainly decorative purposes, for example in *Peonies (146)*, the *tambourin (147)*, or *Still Life with Carafon (171)*.
Often, however, Gauguin grants birds a clearly significant role that was only later extended to other animals. Among these are the dream-bird of *Sweet Dreams (75)* and *Clovis Asleep (151)*, the clandestine inclusion of a bird laying claim to Mette in her portrait *(154)* and the defeated game-bird of *Interior (164, q.v.)*.
After Gauguin's stays in Brittany, geese and ducks came to replace the birds winging through the early work; see *Breton Woman Chatting (237)*, inset.
The repetition of specific figures in the most diverse works confers on them an intrinsic value and enhances their potential significance. A symbolic bestiary results. In the corners of certain late canvases, there are feathered creatures that might almost be initiates, burdened with a mysterious knowledge they are ordained to reveal.

We have retained the title under which this work was exhibited in 1881.
This room on a level with the garden could be one of the ground-floor rooms of the impasse Frémin, since, at rue Carcel, the ground was a few steps down from the living-room, as can be seen in *Gauguin's Family (70)*. If so, the painting pre-dates the Gauguins' move, which took place in October. The yellow flowers, Monsieur Lemattre informs us, are perhaps rudbeckias, which flower in summer and autumn; the big white flowers have been not been identified.

Taking flight ▪ Here, something very interesting makes a first and discreet appearance: the back of the chair is embroidered with a bird taking flight. Some years later, Gauguin repeated this evocative little motif; perhaps he had noted it in a sketch-book? It occurs in the background of *Peonies II (146)*, of the *tambourin (147)*, and of *Clovis Asleep (151)* of 1884. Later again, in slightly changed form, it appears in a ceramic piece (Gray 64). It is the first such form to reappear in different contexts, as a phrase might reappear in different sentences. Such repetition came to be systematic in Gauguin's work: see *Breton Shepherdess (233)*, inset. The 'original' silhouette was not, it seems, found in nature; already stylised, it came from an ornament forming part of Gauguin's everyday environment. Despite this, the figure can be seen as a distant precursor of the symbolic bestiary gradually evolving in Gauguin's work; these motifs slowly acquired a burden of meaning (see inset below).

Documents and bibliography:
J.-K. Huysmans: *L'Art moderne*, Paris, 1883, reprinted 1908, p. 267: 'an amusing little chair full of flowers and a glimpse of sunny garden' (seen at the 1881 Impressionist exhibition).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 49 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
6e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 35 boulevard des Capucines, April 1881, no. 35 (*To Make a Bouquet*), cf. Huysmans' review, **D** above).
This may be the work belonging to G.F. Reber (Barmen) exhibited at Barmen in August 1912, and cited by P. Kropmanns: *Gauguin und die Schule von Pont-Aven* […], 1997, p. 52.
Gauguin et le groupe de Pont-Aven, Zurich, Kunsthaus, 1966, no. 1.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 6.

Provenance:
Dr G.F. Reber, Lugano, before 1914.
Dr Fritz Nathan, Saint-Gallen.
Hans Jäggli-Corti, Winterthur, 1943.
Sale, Gita Jäggli-Corti, London, Christie's, 29 June 1999, no. 9.

63
On a Chair

Canvas. 0.47 × 0.31
Signed and dated centre right:
1880 / p. Gauguin
W46

We have retained the title borne by this work at the 6th Impressionist exhibition.
Gauguin often represented this mandolin – in *64, 108, 169* and the fan *W180* – but only learnt to play it in 1889; till then it was a purely decorative object in his eyes (see inset).
The striped weaving on the right seems to be a variant of one represented in certain other pictures of this period (see *Jug and Mug, 60*). The seat is of the same kind as

The Mandolin

We do not know to whom the scores shown in the still lifes of the 1870s belonged. They occur, for example, in *34* and *36*. Were they used by Gauguin or his wife, or by friends? We have no record of Gauguin playing an instrument before the Le Pouldu period, when he started to learn the mandolin and the piano simultaneously. A gifted jack of all trades, Gauguin soon began to enjoy playing these instruments: 'It was a good idea to bring music and mandolin, it's a great distraction for me. Filiger gave me the idea of playing this instrument. I'd say I'm now head and shoulders above Filiger for virtuosity,' he wrote to Sérusier from Tahiti[1]. He confirms this in a letter to Mette: 'I must admit that my mandolin which I'm now pretty good at is a real friend here where I'm alone. I get a lot of pleasure from music'[2].
Immediately after his return to France, Gauguin was forced to part with his mandolin in exchange for a sum of money advanced by Henri Sérusier (Paul's brother). The cash enabled Gauguin to travel to Orléans after the death of his uncle Isidore in September 1893[3]. He no doubt recovered it after coming into his inheritance; the correspondence from the start of his second trip includes orders for mandolin and guitar strings, and finally, in 1901, a request for a Spanish mandolin[4]. And when ill-health was added to isolation, so that he could no longer take part in the group activities that he had enjoyed thereto – fencing, boxing and swimming – music was one of the few things left to him.
A mandolin was found in his hut after his death, along with a guitar, a harmonium, and a harp; it was included in the sale of his goods at Papeete, 2 September 1903, and fetched two francs.

[1] Gauguin to P. Sérusier, November 1891, in P. Sérusier: *ABC de la peinture*, Paris, 1955, p. 55.
[2] Gauguin to Mette, June 1892 (Malingue CXXIX).
[3] M. Guicheteau: *Sérusier*, 1976, p. 64, note 90.
[4] Gauguin to De Monfreid, January 1897, February 1901 (Joly-Ségalen XXVIII, LXXII).

63

in *To Make a Bouquet (62)*, but the seat-back and the contrasting fabrics are completely different. Gauguin was clearly interested in the evocative effect of these decorative, almost 'abstract' backgrounds (cf. also *61*).

Documents and bibliography:
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 228: 'Degas Still life exchanged'.
Manuscript inventory of Degas' collection: 'Little still life/ Mandolin on carpet, etc./ given by him in exchange for a pastel of women dancers'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 46 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin, The Collector', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, pp. 593, 607; Degas' pastel is reproduced on p. 588.

Exhibitions:
6e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 35 boulevard des Capucines, April 1881, no. 34 (*On a chair*, belongs to Monsieur Degas).

Provenance:
Exchanged before the April 1881 Impressionist exhibition for the Degas pastel *Ballet Dancer Adjusting Her Shoe* (Lemoisne 699). The pastel makes an appearance in the background to Gauguin's Rouen still life *145*: see Gauguin's sketchbook and Degas Inventory, D above.
Edgar Degas sale, Paris, Georges Petit, 26-27 March 1918, no. 44 (to Meyret).
Sale, Paris, Drouot, 21 June 1919, no. 43.
Roy Chalk, New York, 1963.
Sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, 19 November 1986, no. 5.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 8 November 1995, no. 7.

64
Nude Study (Woman Sewing)

Canvas. 1.145 × 0.795
Signed and dated upper left:
Gauguin / 1880
W39

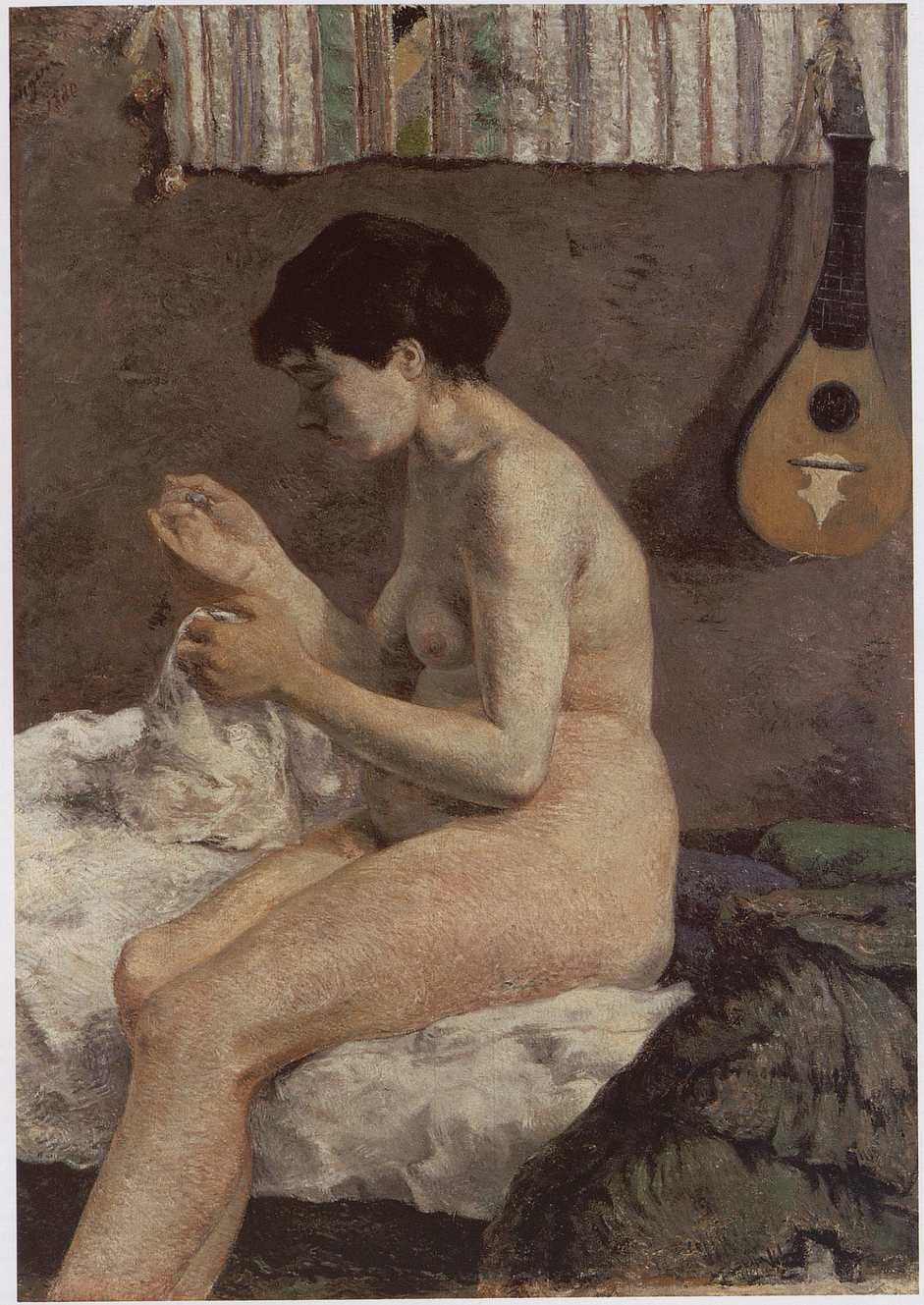
The beginning of the signature, including the capital 'G', is invisible; the painting seems to have been cut down slightly on the left.
This is one of the first known nudes by Gauguin. It is almost certainly painted on a piece of the 1.2 m.-wide roll of canvas that he bought around September 1879 (see *Apple Trees, 52*). It was painted in exactly the same place as *Jug and Mug (60)* in Gauguin's studio at no. 1 impasse Frémin (see *60*). The mandolin is the same as in *63*.
This must be the work that Gauguin mentions in a letter written on 16 October 1880 shortly before leaving the impasse Frémin: 'the model I had came to pose yesterday, so I shall soon have finished my picture'[1]. Though a 'model' was used for the 'picture', the work is not described as a portrait. The other known nude of this period is *157*, but it seems all but unfinished and cannot therefore be the picture to which Gauguin refers.

Suzanne, Justine, or Suzanne-Justine ■ As to the model, her identity has been something of a puzzle. In a letter of March 1892[2], Gauguin refers to this work as 'la Suzanne', which might be the first name of a professional model. But Pola Gauguin asserts that the painting is of the Gauguin family maid, whose name was Justine[3]. Pola was only born in 1883 and his statements about Justine are somewhat suspect – he mistakenly believed her to be the model for *Mulatress (158)* – however, there is evidence to support his contention in this case. A photo reproduced by Malingue[4] shows one of the Gauguin children in the company of a young and simply dressed maid-servant, whose sensitive face is undoubtedly that of the woman sewing. A copy of this photo, which formerly belonged to the Gauguin family, bears the

Justine and one of the Gauguin children.
Photo: former Malingue Archives.

inscription: 'Justine *med* [Danish: with] Emil'. Even if this was written later, perhaps by one of Gauguin's children, in all probability we can take the name of the young nanny on trust. She had, says Pola, 'been living with my parents since the birth of Emil'[5] and was almost part of the family.
Justine may, indeed, have stayed with the Gauguin family until they left for Rouen in late 1883. She may also be the 'Sina' remembered by the Thaulow daughters, Gauguin's nieces; this might be a contraction of the name 'Justine'. The Thaulow daughters shared a nurse with the Gauguin children when, in 1883, all the children were living in the same house (see *Portrait, 109*). The name of the Rouen maid-servant was Christine[6] whereas the Gauguin's Copenhagen maid was called Louise[7].

The coexistence of two models in the same painting no longer troubles the art historians. They are generally agreed that Gauguin simply painted the face of the family maid-servant onto the body of the professional model, who posed nude. 'Suzanne' may be a first name, but could equally be a generic term for a nude, in reference to the iconography of 'Susanna and the Elders'. This is the first example of many such 'swaps'; we know of some from Martinique



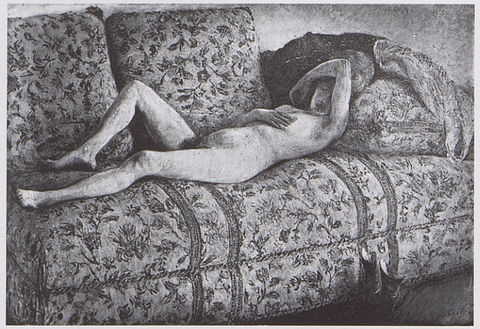
64

and even from Tahiti. Gauguin was quite open about the practice: 'I do a portrait of a woman. I like the dress, don't like the head, so I stick another one on'[8].

A modern nude ▪ This picture for the first time manifests Gauguin's interest in the monumental nude. His still tentative aspiration toward carefully thought out and highly finished works (see *Breton Shepherdess, 233*, inset on composition) is even better expressed here than in such large landscapes as *Apple Trees (52)*.
The choice of this subject may have been partly suggested to Gauguin by the works of admired masters in his own collection. According to Bodelsen,[9] the activity repre-

E. Manet: *Woman Sitting in the Garden, or Knitting*, pastel (Rouart-Wildenstein, vol. II, no. 20). Private collection. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

sented here may derive from a Manet pastel, *Knitting* (Rouart-Wildenstein, vol. II, no. 20), which Gauguin bought in 1880. He may, indeed, have bought it in the spring, in the Manet exhibition at La Vie Moderne, where this pastel was shown. Frèches-Thory further notes that Gauguin had, at a date unspecified, possessed a large nude by Cézanne showing an old woman of withered charms[10]. Alas, this painting is now unknown[11].
Havard's remark that nudes were 'a rare thing with Messieurs les Indépendants'[12] is not borne out by the facts. By this date, Renoir had already painted several nudes, of a poetry and sensitivity in the rendition of light that was clearly Impressionist. *Woman*



G. Caillebotte: *Nude on the Divan*, 1880-1882 (Berhaut 201). Minneapolis (Minnesota), The Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Photo: Martial Caillebottte (Wildenstein Institute Archives).

Sewing is very different. The aggressive verism of its near-caricatural anatomy and its treatment of flesh, are, *pace* Huysmans,[13] reminiscent of Courbet. Gauguin had long been familiar with a Courbet nude belonging to his guardian, Gustave Arosa. It is as if Gauguin, seeking to avoid academic platitude on the one hand and Impressionist vivacity on the other, had steered a course like that of Caillebotte, whose major compositions are much more realistic than the evocative studies he made for the same subjects. At this juncture, Caillebotte, too, was painting unclothed modern women (see, for example, *Nude on the Sofa*, Berhaut 201). These factors determined the reception of the painting in 1881; Naturalism then dominated many areas of literary life, and *Woman Sewing* was favourably received by many critics and acclaimed by Huysmans as a Naturalist work[14].

Flesh and anatomy ▪ The technique of the work is nonetheless Impressionist, as Gauguin's treatment of the flesh shows: zones streaked with blue or green are contrasted with exaggerated pinks and reds. This was a system he continued to use for some considerable time; we find it at its most extreme in *Little Breton Bather (295)*, painted during the summer of 1888. During Gauguin's stay in Arles, yellowish tones came to prevail in faces, set off by blue-green and sometimes enriched with red; these eventually gave way during the Tahitian period to simpler juxtapositions of ocre and khaki.
Note, too, that in his first large nude, Gauguin eschewed prettiness in favour of weighty hips, buttocks and thighs. This weightiness recurs in later works; see *Wrestlers (298)*, inset on anatomy. Gauguin may well have made a preparatory drawing for this work; if so, it has since disappeared.

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 16 October 1880 (Merlhès 14). Pickvance (**D**, under this letter) makes it possible to assign an exact date to this letter.
[2] Gauguin to Mette, 28 March 1892 (Malingue CXXVII, **D**).
[3] Pola Gauguin, 1938, pp. 65-67 (**D**).
[4] Malingue, 1959 (**D**).
[5] Pola Gauguin, 1938, p. 30 (**D**).
[6] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 12 June 1896, in V. Merlhès: *Paul Gauguin et Vincent Van Gogh. 1887-1888. Lettres retrouvées. Sources ignorées*, Taravao, 1989, p. 17.
[7] V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 404, note 156.
[8] Paul Gauguin: *Racontars de rapin*, p. 13.
[9] Bodelsen, 1970 (**D**).
[10] C. Frèches-Thory, catalogue of the *Gauguin* exhibition of 1988-1989 (**E**).
[11] On this painting, see M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin's Cézannes', *The Burlington Magazine*, May 1962, p. 208.
[12] H. Havard, 1881 (**D**).
[13] Huysmans, 1883 (**D**).
[14] Huysmans, 1883 (**D**).

Documents and bibliography:

Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 16 August 1880 (Merlhès 14) quoted above. Merlhès, who knew only extracts from this letter, was unable to give it a precise date. R. Pickvance seems to have seen the original in the Rewald archives, and confirms that it dates from 16 August 1880 (R. Pickvance *et al.*: 'Book Reviews. *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin […]*', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1985, p. 395).
H. Havard: 'L'Exposition des artistes indépendants', *Le Siècle*, 3 April 1881, p. 2: 'a study of a nude does, indeed, as of today, give him a place apart within the group […] a nude of any kind is a rare thing with Messieurs les Indépendants,

who are generally disinclined to pit themselves against the demands made by the nude'.
A. Dalligny: 'Les Indépendants, sixième exposition', *Le Journal des Arts*, 8 April 1881, p. 1: 'One particularly notes a nude study of a woman by Monsieur Paul Gauguin, which may have have technical merits but is completely lacking in charm'.
G. Geffroy: 'L'exposition des artistes indépendants', *La Justice*, 19 April 1881, p. 3: 'Monsieur Gauguin has shown his talent in painting a nude study that is all cold cruelty. Weary flesh, skinny arms, breasts sucked dry, and shapeless belly, such is the dismal creature who has taken off her one and only slip to mend it'.
H. Trianon: 'Sixième exposition de peinture', *Le Constitutionnel*, 24 April 1881, p. 2: 'His "Nude Study" can at least never be accused of impressionism. It is good though not beautiful painting. The precise draughtsmanship and the frank colours of this picture redeem the insulting vulgarity of its subject and forms, and undoubtedly demonstrate that, Lord be thanked, neither its author nor his art are so confined./ Rembrandt himself did not seek beauty of form'.
J.-K. Huysmans: *L'Art moderne*, 1883, reprinted 1908, pp. 262-267, 288 (retrospectively published review of the 1881 Impressionist exhibition): 'I have no hesitation in stating that, among contemporary painters who have worked on the nude, none has yet produced so vehemently realistic a note; and I do not except Courbet, whose *Woman and Parrot* is as untruthful, in terms of composition and rendering of flesh, as the *Recumbent Woman* of Lefebvre or Cabanel's creamy *Venus*. The Courbet is harshly painted, with a palette-knife from the time of Louis-Philippe, while the flesh painted by other moderns quivers like plates of hasty-pudding after the first slice has been removed; which is the only real difference between these paintings […]/ Here, there is nothing of the kind; it's a woman of our day, a girl who is not posing for the gallery, who is neither lascivious nor simpering, who is busy with nothing more elevated than repairing her outfit […]/ I am delighted to acclaim a painter who has felt, as I have, irresistibly repelled by […] models weighed down with suppositious good taste, drawn according to recipes learnt by copying in the cast gallery./ Ah, the naked woman! Who ever painted her proud and real, without premeditated poses, without falsifying either feature or flesh? Who has ever shown, in a woman without clothes, the nationality and period to which she belongs […]?/ To this day, Rembrandt alone has painted the nude […]/ it is eminently desirable that artists of talent such as Monsieur Gauguin should do for their period what Van Rhin* [van Rijn] did for his'.
Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 11 or 12 May 1883 (Merlhès 36): '[Huysmans] gets completely the wrong end of the stick and promotes the impressionists without in the least understanding what is modern about them […] I'm still bewildered by the acclaim that he hurls in my face and despite the flattering side of it I can see that he is seduced only by the literary aspect of my nude and not by the painting side'.
K. Madsen: 'Kunst. Impressionisterne i Kunstforeningen', *Politiken*, 9 November 1889, p. 1.
R. Marx: 'Paul Gauguin', *Le Voltaire*, 20 February 1891, p. 1 (quotes a passage from the Huysmans text).
G. Geffroy: 'Paul Gauguin', *La Justice*, 22 February 1891, p. 1: 'this 1881 exhibition of the Independents, at which Gauguin's study of a Nude Woman created a sensation'.
Gauguin to Mette, March 1892 (Malingue CXXVII): 'I'm glad to hear that the Suzanne is in the hands of an artist like Philipsen. It proves to me that I had a little talent at that time'.
C.H.[Hartmann]: 'Den Frie Udstilling', *Nationaltidende*, 28 March 1893, p. 1: the author indicates that this work, deemed 'absolutely horrible' when it was exhibited at Copenhagen in 1889, now seems 'relatively reasonable' by comparison with the Synthetist pictures (in H. Rostrup, 1956, below, p. 81, note 56).
Gauguin to De Monfreid, 31 March 1893 (Joly-Ségalen XII): 'Yes in Denmark there is a bunch of imbeciles who believe the papers so now they think that I have talent. And as a result there is some Danish painter who coughed up 900 fr to lumber himself with a study of a woman done in 76 (the one Huysmans talks about)'.
T. Thorup: article in Danish, *Aarhus Amstidende*, 1 May 1893 (cited in the catalogue of the exhibition *Gauguin og van Gogh i København i 1893*, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, entry for no. 4).
Dr H.: 'Den frie Udstilling', *København*, 28 May 1893, p. 2.
G. Geffroy: 'Paul Gauguin', *La Vie Artistique*, 1900, p. 223: 'a *Study of a Nude Woman* that remains in the memory for its boldness, its melancholy, its wretchedness'.
L. Vauxcelles: 'Paul Gauguin', *Gil Blas*, 2 September 1903, p. 2 (Vauxcelles' obituary for Gauguin was inspired by Geffroy's 1900 article).
C. Morice: 'Paul Gauguin', *Mercure de France*, October 1903, p. 123.
H. Castets: 'Nécrologie', *La Revue universelle*, 15 October 1903, p. 535.
Pola Gauguin: *Paul Gauguin, mon père*, 1938, pp. 59, 65-67.
L. Find: 'Et Par Erindringer' [memoirs of the Danish painter Ludvig Find], *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, [1941], no. XXVIII, p. 7 (Find saw this painting at Mette Gauguin's house, around 1888-1889).
H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin et le Danemark', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956 (published in 1958), pp. 77, 81.
D. Sutton: 'Notes on Paul Gauguin apropos a Recent Exhibition', *The Burlington Magazine*, March 1956, pp. 85, 86, and 91.
M. Malingue: 'Encore du nouveau sur Gauguin', *L'Oeil*, October 1959, pp. 30, 32, 33 (repr., with the photo of Justine).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 39 (repr.).
P.O. Reilly: *Catalogue du musée Gauguin, Papeari, Tahiti*, Paris, 1965, p. 21, no. 51 (on the Justine photo).
M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin, The Collector', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, pp. 596, 608 (reproduces Manet's *Knitting*).
Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, 1984, pp. 341, note 43; 342, note 44; 346, 380-382 (on the non-publication of Huysman's reviews before 1883).

Exhibitions:

6e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 35 boulevard des Capucines, 1881, no. 36 (*Nude Study*).
[Exhibition of French and Scandinavian Impressionists], Copenhagen, Kunstforeningen, 1889 (we have never seen the catalogue, but the critics indicate that this work was present).
Den Frie Udstilling, Copenhagen, Free Exhibitions Building, 1893, no. 148.
Fransk Malerkunst, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, 1914, no. 98.
Oslo, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 2.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 5.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 12.
Gauguin og van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 4 (not exhibited).
Washington D.C., Chicago and Paris, 1988-1989, no. 4.

Provenance:

Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen (see L. Find, 1941, **D** above)
Bought from Mette (c. early 1892) by the Danish painter Theodor Philipsen (1840-1920), whose twin brother had married one of Mette Gauguin's cousins.
Left by Philipsen in 1920 to the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.
Deposited in 1922 with:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – SMK 3453.

65
Woman Embroidering

Canvas. 1.16 × 0.81
W26

The intimacy of this scene gives credence to Pola Gauguin's claim that it represents Mette Gauguin. On the other hand, it has to be said that the portrait is not in that case a very good likeness. Pola, who was not born till 1883, did not hesitate to inscribe the date '1878' (lower right) on the canvas, while in other statements he placed it in 1879 and in 1880. In fact, the picture can scarcely have been painted before September 1879, since in all likelihood it is painted on a piece of canvas cut from the roll that Gauguin bought around that date (see *52*). It may even be later than *Jug and Mug (60)* or *Woman Sewing (64)* of the summer of 1880; the diagonally striped hanging adumbrated on the right may be transposed from a previous painting rather than painted from life.

A question therefore arises whether the scene was painted at the impasse Frémin or at rue Carcel, to which the Gauguins moved in October 1880. But there is no obvious resemblance between this room, with its red wall and select ornaments, and the living room of the rue Carcel house, which we know from other works, notably the *Interiors* (*76* and *77*). It may be one of the rooms of the house in the impasse Frémin.
The format and subject are similar to that of *Woman Sewing (64)* but this painting offers a stark contrast to the realism of that painting and is much more experimental. The combination of strange light, the rather uncanny background, the apparent incongruity of the seat on the right, and the unreal 'portrait' is very striking. The search for an effect at once evocative and decorative is something that Gauguin was beginning to develop in some of his still lifes. Its influence was lasting (cf. *61*). Gauguin's new interest in special light effects is also apparent in certain of the night paintings of 1881.

65

Documents and bibliography:
Pola Gauguin: *Paul Gauguin, mon père*, 1938, p. 61, reproduced opposite p. 228.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 26 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Fransk Kunst, Christiania, Statens Kunstmuseum, 1914, no. 27.
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 64.
Fransk Utstilling, Oslo, Kunsternes Hus, 1946, no. 27.
Wegbereiter der modernen Malerei, Cézanne, Gauguin, Van Gogh, Seurat, Hamburg, Kunstverein, 1963, no. 36.

Provenance:
(?) Peter Krag, Norwegian General Consul in Paris (the source of this information is not known to us).
Halfdan Roede, Riis (near Christiania), c. 1914.
H. Nobel Roede, Oslo, c. 1926 (may be the same person as Halfdan Roede).
The presence of the work in the 1946 Oslo exhibition may indicate that it belonged to a Norwegian at that date.
Bought by Emil G. Bührle in August 1964.
Zurich (Switzerland), Fondation Collection E.G. Bührle – 78.

66
Portrait of a Woman

Canvas. 0.330 × 0.265

This study may have been made from the nude, and is perhaps unfinished. The likely dates are between 1880 and 1884 with a preference for 1880-1881. We know nothing about the model.

Exhibitions:
(?) *Den Frie Udstilling*, Copenhagen, Free Exhibitions Building, 1893, no. 146 (*Study of a head*, 1890, 31 × 36, belongs to the Chamberlain Kragh). The dates and dimensions are incorrect, but they often are in this catalogue. Kragh is not known to have possessed any other portrait.
Copenhagen, Kleis, 1917, no. 17 (*Woman's Head*, P.R. Kragh Collection).
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 32.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 4.
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no 1.
Gauguin og van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 9 (not exhibited).

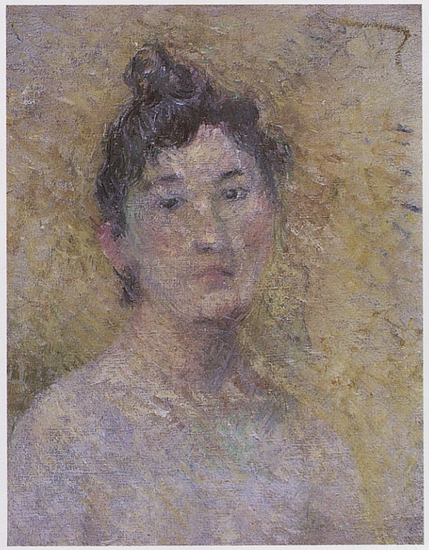
Provenance:
Chamberlain P.R. Kragh, Copenhagen, c. 1917. According to M. Bodelsen, writing in the catalogue of the 1984 exhibition, Kragh bought this work from Mette Gauguin in 1892.
C.G.R. Fenger, Copenhagen, 1929.
Sale of Danish collector, New York, Parke-Bernet, 15 April 1959, no. 47.
Mr and Mrs Alexander Rittmaster, New York, 1959.
Donated by the Rittmasters to the Emily Lowe Gallery, Hempstead, in 1964.
Hempstead (New York), Hofstra Museum – HU 64.169.

67
Ship's Boy

W43

Work known only through documentary evidence.
This work is catalogued (with no mention of technique) in the 1881 exhibition. No known work fits the title. However, notably recherché titles had been given to certain works at this exhibition (*My Landlady's Plot of Land, On a Chair, To Make a Bouquet*).
It presumably represented a child. Given that all the other works Gauguin showed at this exhibition were painted in 1880, it seems likely that this one was too.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 43.



66

Exhibitions:
6e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 35 boulevard des Capucines, April 1881, no. 37 (*Ship's Boy*).

Provenance:
Disappeared.

68
Falling Leaves

W45

Work known only through documentary evidence
Huysmans' review (**D**) tells us that the picture exhibited in spring 1881 was a garden scene which Huysmans places at Vaugirard. It may in fact be one of the first pictures painted at rue Carcel where the Gauguins moved, in all likelihood, in the last quarter of 1880 (see *Church, 69*, inset). This must be the picture that Durand-Ruel bought in March 1881 shortly before the exhibition (which featured many Impressionist works belonging to that gallery) under the title *Garden View [Coin de Jardin]*; the combination of circumstances excludes any other work.

Documents and bibliography:
J.-K. Huysmans: *L'Art moderne*, Paris, 1883, reprinted 1908, p. 267 (retrospectively published review of the 1881 Impressionist exhibition): 'several views of that peculiarly intimate quarter, Vaugirard [amongst which there is a] a garden view'.
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 228: '[sold to] Durand-Ruel Garden [FF] 400'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 45.

Exhibitions:
6e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 35 boulevard des Capucines, April 1881, no. 32 (*Falling Leaves*).

Provenance:
Bought from Gauguin by Durand-Ruel on 16 March 1881 (at the same time as *Church, 69*, which was also in the Impressionist exhibition of April): stock 914, *Garden View [Coin de Jardin]*, 350 F. This must, despite the different price that Gauguin recorded in his sketchbook (**D** above), be the same work; the total number of works and the total prices in the sketchbook and the Durand-Ruel records for 1881 being identical.
This work does not appear in the Durand-Ruel records for 1890 and must therefore have been sold.
Disappeared.

69

69
Vaugirard Church by Night

Canvas. 0.500 × 0.345
Signed lower left: *p. Gauguin* [an old photograph shows that the signature was formerly followed by the date *1881*]
W30

The signature. Photo: Giraudon

This view was painted from just outside the door of 8 rue Carcel, to which the Gauguins moved, almost certainly in October 1880, becoming subtenants of the painter Jobbé-Duval (see inset). The painting shows the church of Saint-Lambert that was then a relatively modern building; its construction dates from around 1850. Construction of the rue Carcel, in the foreground, had begun during the same period. The church makes a further appearance in the background of *70*.
One of Gauguin's sketchbooks, now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, contains a pencil study of this motif (p. 21, *verso*) with very detailed colour indications[1]. Since these are for the most part observed in the painting, it seems probable that this experiment in the nocturnal was not executed entirely

Saint-Lambert church.

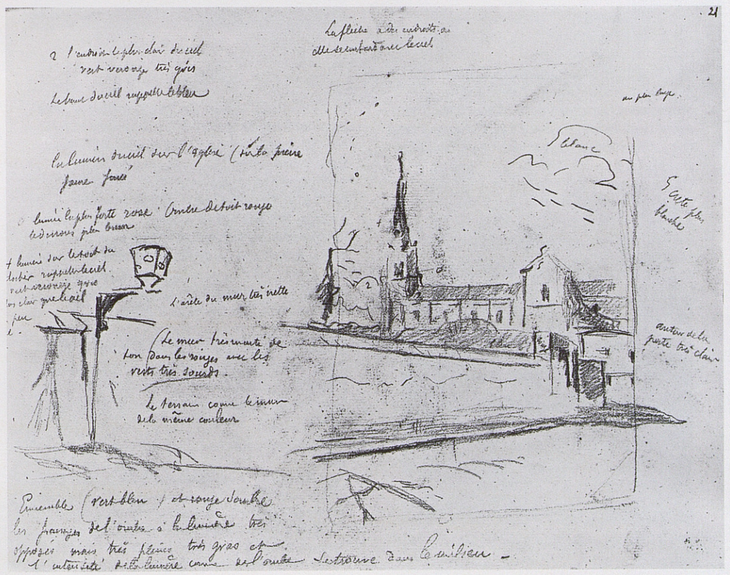
Rue Carcel (1880-1883)

The three-year lease of the impasse Frémin house expired in June 1880. Gauguin had changed jobs in the same period (he was now working at Thomereau's), and was thinking of moving. He wrote to Pissarro in May-July 1880: 'in my new position, I shall have to live near Montmartre [...] I should then have a studio where you can work'[1]. It must have been the prospect of a studio that attracted Gauguin to the new address since his new employment took him to the *grands boulevards* just as his previous job had done.

A charming place ■ The right place was soon forthcoming. 'I've found a splendid studio opportunity with a three-room apartment. For the sum of 700 francs, there is a studio six metres by five, two big rooms and one smaller one, all exquisitely clean', he told Pissarro[2]. Since this letter is dated 16 August 1880, the lease at the impasse Frémin must presumably have been extended for three months. Then, in October, the Gauguins moved to the charming house and garden at 8 rue Carcel, where they continued to live until 1883. They were no doubt subtenants rather than tenants, taking the house over from the painter Félix Jobbé-Duval, a genial personality with whom Gauguin remained friendly (see inset below).
Gauguin's letter is inaccurate. There were indeed three rooms on the ground floor, a dining room and two parlours (these have since been knocked through into one room, see *Interior, 76*). But the whole house measured 480 m² and included three further rooms on the first floor, in addition to the studio with its glass roof on the second floor. The kitchen was then in the basement with a small window opening onto the garden.
The garden has been much altered since the Gauguins left, but the house has been little modified, and, a hundred years after the painter's departure, still seems to belong to another time; it has a charm all its own. Gauguin seems to have been very happy there; for some time after the move, he found all his motifs in his immediate surroundings. By contrast, in 1882 and 1883 he seems to have painted mostly in the countryside, alongside his master Pissarro.

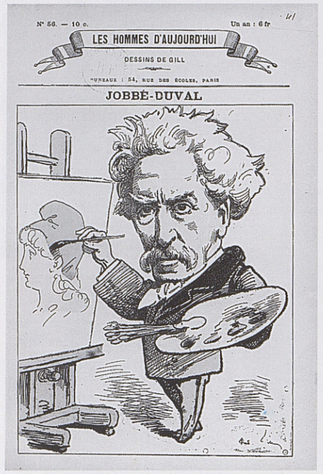
8 rue Carcel.

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, May-July 1880 (Merlhès 12).
[2] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 16 August 1880 (Merlhès 13).



Preparatory sketch, Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 21 verso. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.

Jobbé, Old Friend



Caricature of Jobbé-Duval. *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui*, no. 56. Photo: BNF.

Félix Armand Marie Jobbé-Duval (1821-1889), who had brought Gauguin to the rue Carcel, was, like Gauguin, a republican and an artist, though he belonged to an older generation. Jobbé was as republican as they make them; he had come to Paris in 1839 to enter the Delaroche studio and taken part in all the riots that ended the Louis-Philippe period. On the barricades in 1848, a participant in the Garibaldian committees of 1860, he played an active and courageous role in the crisis of 1870. With the advent of the Republic, he occupied official posts, notably on the Municipal Council from 1873 to 1886. The authors of *Hommes d'aujourd'hui* recognised the justice of this: 'it was right that his pains should be thus rewarded[1]'.
His devotion to the republican cause did not inhibit his painting; he seems to have been at ease in the most various genres. He regularly exhibited at the Salon, showing mythological or historical subjects, such as *Jews Expelled from Spain in 1492 Gather on the Piers of Genoa*. He also produced portraits, neo-classical landscapes, church paintings (in Paris alone, for example, at Saint-Sulpice and Saint-Séverin) and town hall paintings (in collaboration with his son Jacques, at the town hall of the 15th arrondissement of Paris, and also in Lyon). In the 1870s, he campaigned to have the teaching of drawing reformed in Parisian schools; as head of the Municipal School of Drawing of the 3rd arrondissement, he himself taught evening courses at the place des Vosges[2].
He had been living at rue Carcel since 1863, with his wife and children: Jacques, born in 1854, a married painter; Gaston, born in 1856, who was to become a painter; and perhaps a daughter named Jeanne. Had the time come for the young to leave the nest? At all events, without waiting for their twenty-year lease to expire (it was not due till July 1883), they let their house to the Gauguins, moving to rue de Dantzig and so remaining within the 15th arrondissement. In 1881, Félix and Jacques had separate addresses, though they were just around the corner from one another and five minutes' walk from rue Carcel. This proximity favoured neighbourly relations: Félix was one of the witnesses when the birth of Jean Gauguin was registered in 1881.

F. Jobbé-Duval: *The Office of the Municipal Council from 1883*. Paris, Musée du Petit Palais. Photothèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris.

F. Jobbé-Duval: *Sluice-Gate*. Current whereabouts unknown. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

In 1885-1886, when Gauguin's fortunes were at a particularly low ebb, he was able to rely on the Jobbé family; Clovis stayed with them for a week when Gauguin had no money and nowhere to live[3]. Gauguin saw them regularly: 'On Thursday I dined with the Jobbés: the old fellow is still as jovial as ever', he wrote on 2 November 1885[4]. On 24 May 1886, it was the same story: 'Yesterday I saw the Jobbés who send all good wishes […] – Old Jobbé's still in a tight corner, but they redeem their poverty with their single-heartedness and to survive the storm they all buckle down together without repining[5]. Jobbé was Breton; he was born in Carhaix (Finistère), and it is widely thought that Gauguin went to Pont-Aven on Jobbé's advice.

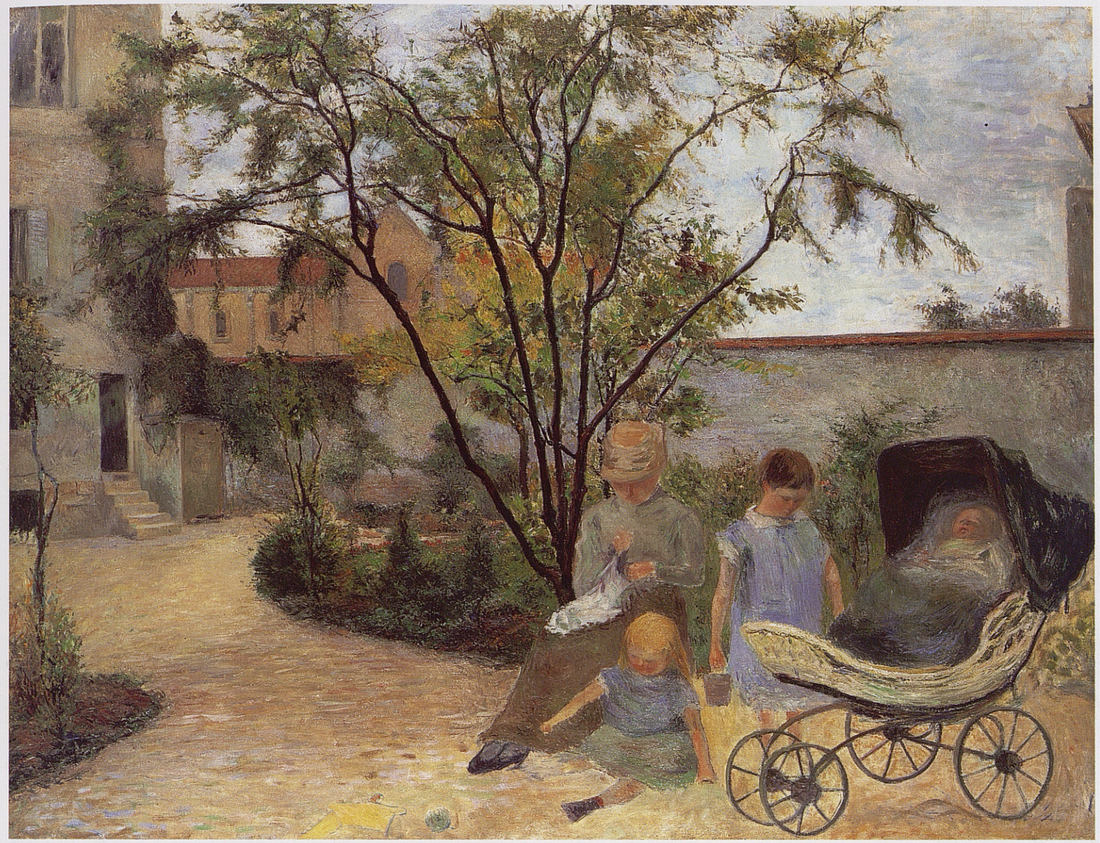
[1] Pierre et Paul: 'Jobbé-Duval', *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui*, no. 56.
[2] On Jobbé-Duval, se also 'Nécrologie', *Le Moniteur des arts*, 12 April 1889, pp. 118-119 and V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, pp. 417-418, note 184.
[3] Gauguin to Mette, October 1885 (Merlhès 86).
[4] Gauguin to Mette, 2 November 1885 (Merlhès 88).
[5] Gauguin to Mette, 24 May 1886 (Merlhès 97).

from life but in large measure on the basis of these notes. At this stage, Gauguin showed considerable interest in unusual light effects, as witness *Woman Embroidering (65)* and *Wall by Night (72)*.

[1] For details of these, see Wildenstein, 1964, or the publication of the sketchbook by P. Bjurström.

Documents and bibliography:
G. Geffroy: 'L'Exposition des artistes indépendants', *La Justice*, 19 April 1881, p. 3: 'luminous and tranquil painting'.
J.-K. Huysmans: *L'Art moderne*, Paris, 1883, new edition 1908, p. 267, retrospectively published review of the 1881 Impressionist exhibition: 'a view of a church, whose dark interior reminds one of a factory chapel, of some splenetic church from an industrial town that has strayed into this joyful homely corner of the provinces' [?] retrospectively published review of the 1882 Impressionist exhibition – Huysmans cites *Vaugirard Church*, which was exhibited in 1882. However, cf. *70* (D), which might also be the painting in question.
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 228: '[sold to] Durand-Ruel night church Vaugirard [FF] 400'.
Durand-Ruel to Baroux, 17 December 1896 (Durand-Ruel Archives, 3, no. 353): Durand-Ruel will try to sell Baroux's Gauguin [summarised by MM. Durand-Ruel].
Durand-Ruel to Baroux, 23 January 1909 (Durand-Ruel Archives, 22, no. 428a): Will Baroux accept the offer of FF 200 net for the Gauguin deposited with Durand-Ruel? [summarised by MM. Durand-Ruel].
Durand-Ruel to Schuffenecker, 25 January 1909 (Durand-Ruel Archives, 22, no. 428b): Durand-Ruel is keeping the Gauguin for which Schuffenecker offered FF 300 ready for him [summarised by MM. Durand-Ruel].
Unpublished letter from Amédée Schuffenecker to a lady, containing a list of works drawn up for Joseph Altounian, 18 February 1919: 'Here are the prices of the Gauguins [offered for sale by Amédée Schuffenecker] net to me […] 25° Nocturne – Église de Vaugirard 4000'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 30 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
6e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 35 boulevard des Capucines, April 1881, no. 30 (*One Night in Vaugirard*): see Huysmans, 1883, D above.
(?) *7e exposition des artistes indépendants*, Paris, 251 rue Saint-Honoré, 1882, no. 19 (*Vaugirard Church*). However, see also *Garden (70)*, in whose background the Vaugirard church also appears.
Galerie Nunès et Fiquet, Paris, 1917, no. 7 (*Vaugirard Church*).
Corot to Cézanne, London, Reid and Lefevre, 1936, no. 22.
French and Dutch Art, Amsterdam, Huinck & Scherjon, 1951, no. 8.



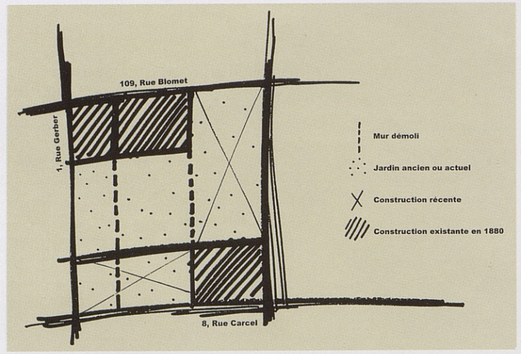
70

Provenance:
Bought from Gauguin by Durand-Ruel on 16 March 1881, before the exhibition, and sold to Baroux during the exhibition, on 27 April 1881 (Stock 963: *Village Church [Vaugirard]*, 350 F). Despite the price difference, this must be the sale that is recorded in Gauguin's sketchbook (1888-1890, D above), since the number of works and total prices are the same in the sketchbook and the Durand-Ruel register of 1881.
Deposited with Durand-Ruel for sale by Baroux.
Bought by Durand-Ruel from Baroux on 28 December 1908, sold to Schuffenecker in January 1909 (Stock 8948: *Evening Effect*, 0.48 × 0.30). See Durand-Ruel letters, 1896 and 1909, D above. The Schuffenecker must be Amédée Schuffenecker, who dealt in Gauguin's works early in the 20th century (on Amédée, see *Geese in the Meadow, 184*, inset).
Amédée Schuffenecker, Meudon; see letter, 1909, D above.
Raphaël Gérard, Paris.
Bought from Gérard by Reid and Lefevre, London, c. 1936.
Sold by Reid and Lefevre to Lt.-Col. Stanley Cohen, Great Britain.
R.J. Vendoorp, Amsterdam.
Fondation J.B. Scholten, Groningen: on permanent loan to:
Groningen (Netherlands), Groninger Museum – 1969.12.

70
Gauguin's Family, Rue Carcel

Canvas. 0.87 × 1.14
W67

8 rue Carcel (whitewashed). The studio window is marked with a cross. The view is from the opposite direction to that of the painting; the garden depicted by Gauguin now lies beneath the low building.



Plan of the house and garden, showing current and former states.

In this scene of family life at 8 rue Carcel, we see three of Gauguin's children under the supervision of a young woman – who may be the maid, Justine (see *Woman Sewing, 64*), rather than Mette Gauguin. They are the fair-haired Clovis, born May 1879 (sitting on the ground); his sister Aline, born December 1877, with her distinctively short hair (standing); and Jean, born April 1881 (in the pram).
The baby would seem to be between three and six months old, which would place the picture in summer or early autumn of 1881. Seasonal confirmation of this date is to be found in the picture; behind Aline is a climbing rose in blossom, while on the left of the central flowerbed, the lower flowers blooming bright red may be a form of *Salvia*. Pola Gauguin, who was to occupy the same pram in a similar scene painted two and half years later at Rouen (*113*), was not yet born; Emil, Gauguin's eldest son, was perhaps in Denmark at this point (see Emil's portrait, *21*, inset).
To the left can be seen the house itself, in which Jean and Pola were born; above is the big window of Gauguin's studio, and immediately below it, the window that appears in *Vase of Flowers and Window (80)*. Both still exist today, as can be seen in the photo on page 81. Lower again, behind the little tree on the left, is the window of the living room painted in *Interior (76)*, and the door to the hall corridor that runs through the house to rue Carcel. Finally, right at the bottom of the picture, is one of the windows of the basement, which comprised kitchen, pantry and coal cellar. One day when Mette had been reading Poe's terrifying story *The Black Cat*, she came upon a skull in the coal cellar, the previous occupant of the house, Jobbé-Duval, having left an articulated skeleton on the premises[1].

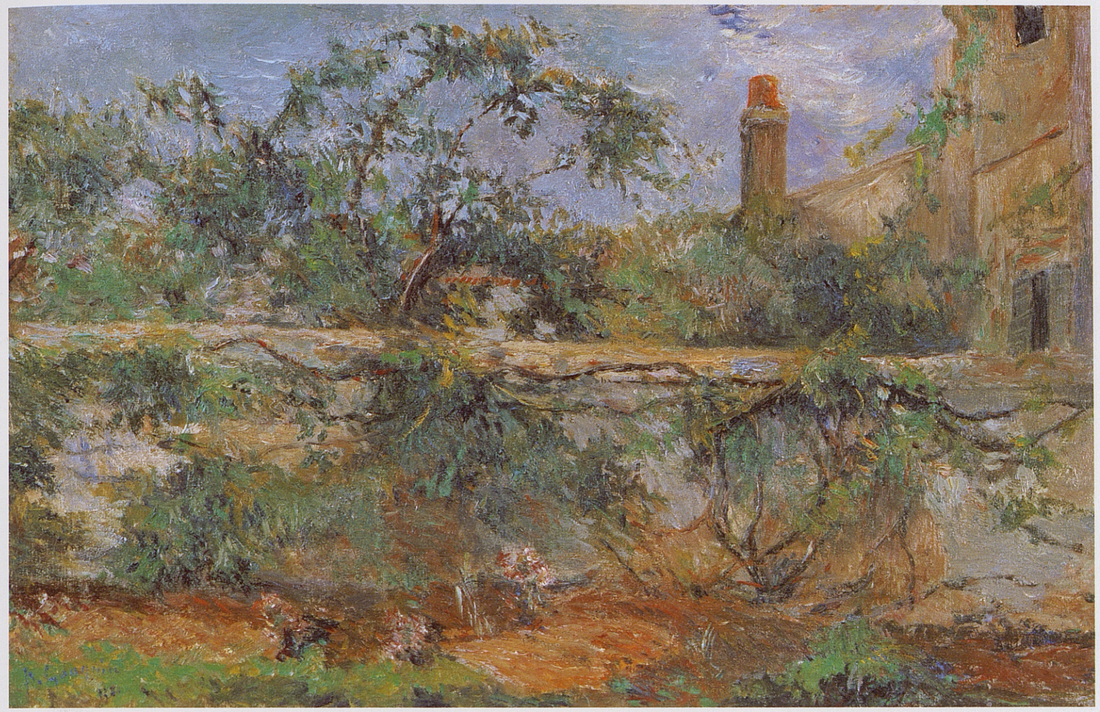
The garden at this time stretched as far as rue Blomet, onto which opened a little gate (outside the field of vision, to the right). It was separated from the garden of the neighbouring house, 109 rue Blomet (a corner of which is visible to the extreme right of the picture), by the wall which appears at the back of this picture and in *71*. The north-west end of the rue Carcel was not yet built up; the church of Saint-Lambert (painted in *69*) is clearly visible to the left of the painting.
The garden no longer exists in the form in which we see it here. The left-hand side of it has been covered by a low 1920s building, roofing over the ground-floor and basement windows, while the right-hand side is occupied by tenement buildings on rue Blomet. But the demolition of this wall and the one beyond it – parallel to this one, it separated no. 109 rue Blomet from the next house along, no. 1 rue Gerber – has reconstituted, just along from the garden Gauguin painted, a walled garden of very similar kind; one which, a hundred years later, still had the savour of times past to an extraordinary degree.

[1] Paul Gauguin: *Avant et après*, p. 73.

Documents and bibliography:
(?) J.-K. Huysmans: *L'Art moderne*, Paris, 1883, new edition 1908, p. 288: retrospectively published review of the 1882 Impressionist exhibition: 'this year, nothing very good. At very most, I cite – as more valid than the rest – his new view of the church of Vaugirard'; this may, however, refer to *69*.
'Sidste Nyt', *Dannebrog*, 27 March 1893, p. 3: the review informs us that this picture had been sold.
'Dagens Nyt', *København*, 27 March 1893, p. 3 [sold].
'Dag til dag', *Politiken*, 27 March 1892, p. 1.
C.H. [Hartmann]: 'Den Frie Udstilling', *Nationaltidende*, 28 March 1893, p. 1.
J. Jörgensen: 'Foraas-Udstillingerne. Gauguin og Van Gogh', *Politiken*, 16 April 1893, p. 1: 'much green, toned-down blue, sweet, sad harmony' (in Rostrup, 1956, p. 81).
Illustreret Tidende, April 1893: 'how beautifully the laburnum tree fills out the space' (in Bodelsen's contribution to the catalogue of the 1984 exhibition).
H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin et le Danemark', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956 (published in 1958), pp. 80, 81.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 67 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Probably: *7e exposition des artistes indépendants*, Paris, 251 rue Saint-Honoré, 1882. This would have been as no. 20 or 19. No. 20 was *Garden Piece [Morceau de Jardin]*: since the catalogue gave the interiors *76* and *77* the slightly mannered description 'still lifes', the possibility that this work was described as a *morceau de jardin* cannot be ruled out. But the title might also fit *Garden (82)* or even *73*. No. 19 was *Église de Vaugirard*, a title which would also fit *69* – but in the review cited above, Huysmans speaks of a 'new' view of the church; he could hardly have failed to recognise *69*, having been struck by it the previous year.
Den Frie Udstilling, Copenhagen, Free Exhibitions Building, 1893, no. 121 (*Garden at Vaugirard*).
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 4.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 8.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 14.
Gauguin og van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 8 (not exhibited).
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 12.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Bought from Mette Gauguin during the March 1893 exhibition by the painter Georg Achen, Copenhagen.
Sold by Achen to the Statens Museum for Kunst, 1910; deposited in 1922 with:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – SMK 3098.



71

71
Party Wall

Canvas. 0.31 × 0.47
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin / 1881
W56

The buildings of rue Gerber and rue Blomet seen from today's rue Carcel garden.

We have retained the title that this work bore in the 1882 exhibitions. The wall in question can been seen in *70*; it separated Gauguin's garden at 8 rue Carcel from that of his neighbours. A corner of the neighbours' house, 109 rue Blomet, appears far right, and a little to the left the side of the roof and a chimney of no. 1 rue Gerber. Though the wall has since been demolished, the two houses still stand relatively unaltered (see *Gauguin's Family, 70* for information on the topography of house and garden).

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 56 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
7e exposition des artistes indépendants, Paris, 251 rue Saint-Honoré, 1882, no. 21 (*Party Wall*).

Provenance:
Bought from Alfred Baillehache by Bernheim-Jeune on 3 November 1904 (no. 15059); it had no doubt been deposited with Bernheim-Jeune some time before that.
Sold by Bernheim-Jeune to Bernier on 4 November 1904.
Albert Bernier sale, Paris, Drouot, 23 November 1910, no. 15 (to Pierre Goujon).
Sale, Paris, Drouot, 8 May 1944, no. 11.
Le Tallec Sale, Paris, Hôtel George V, 7 November 1990, no. 519.
Sale, New York, Christie's, 8 May 1991, no. 2.
Sale, New York, Christie's, 11 May 1994, no. 120.

72

73

72
Wall by Night

Canvas. 0.22 × 0.31
Signed and dated lower right:
p. Gauguin 1881
W57

Undoubtedly painted in the garden of 8 rue Carcel, this little picture, like *Church (69)*, was born of Gauguin's experiments with painting by night.

Documents and bibliography:
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 228: '[sold to] Durand-Ruel night garden [FF] 200'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 57 (repr.).

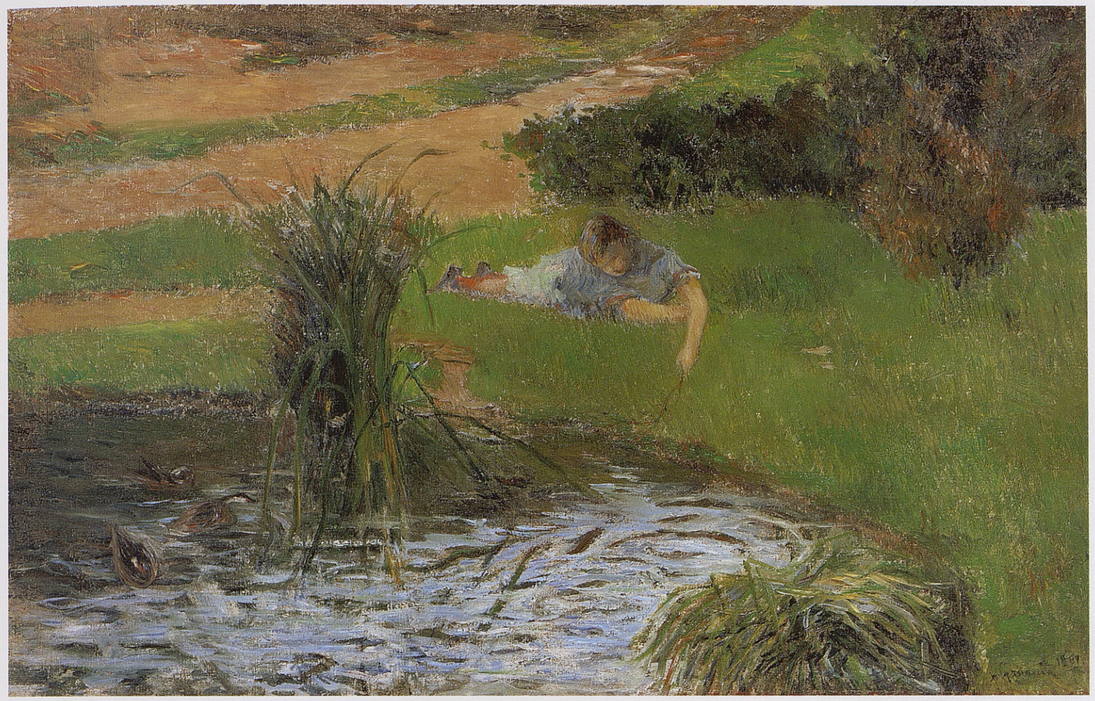
Exhibitions:
7e exposition des artistes indépendants, Paris, 251 rue Saint-Honoré, 1882, no. 29: *Section of a Wall (Night Effect)*.
Salon d'automne, Paris, Grand Palais, 1906, no. 169 (*Nocturnal Landscape*, à Monsieur Schuffenecker).

Provenance:
Bought from Gauguin by Durand-Ruel in October 1881 (stock 1933: *Night Effect*, 200 F); inventoried in 1890 (stock 294) and 1891 (stock 390).
Sold by Durand-Ruel to Schuffenecker, July 1906 (with *Apple Trees, 52*); this must be Amédée Schuffenecker (brother of the painter) who dealt in Gauguin works in the first quarter of the 20th century (on Amédée, see *Geese in the Meadow, 184*, inset). A reproduction of this picture features in a series of large Druet-Vizzavona photos that belonged to Jeanne Schuffenecker (who must have inherited them from her uncle Amédée).
Sale, Paris, Charpentier, 1 June 1949, no. 9.
Mme Frowirth, Paris.
Sale, Paris, Hôtel des ventes Loudmer et Poulain, 2 December 1979, no. 52.

73
In the Garden, Rue Carcel

Canvas. 0.56 × 0.46

The vegetation and wall resemble those of *70* and tell us that this work was executed at rue Carcel, and therefore between 1881 and 1883; 1881 and 1882 seem the likeliest years.



74

74
Little Girl Playing

Canvas. 0.32 × 0.50
Signed and dated lower right:
p Gauguin 1881
W55

We have retained the title given to this work at the 1882 exhibition (*La Petite s'amuse*); it has also borne the title *Duck Pond*. Like *75*, it shows Aline Gauguin, aged around three and a half.

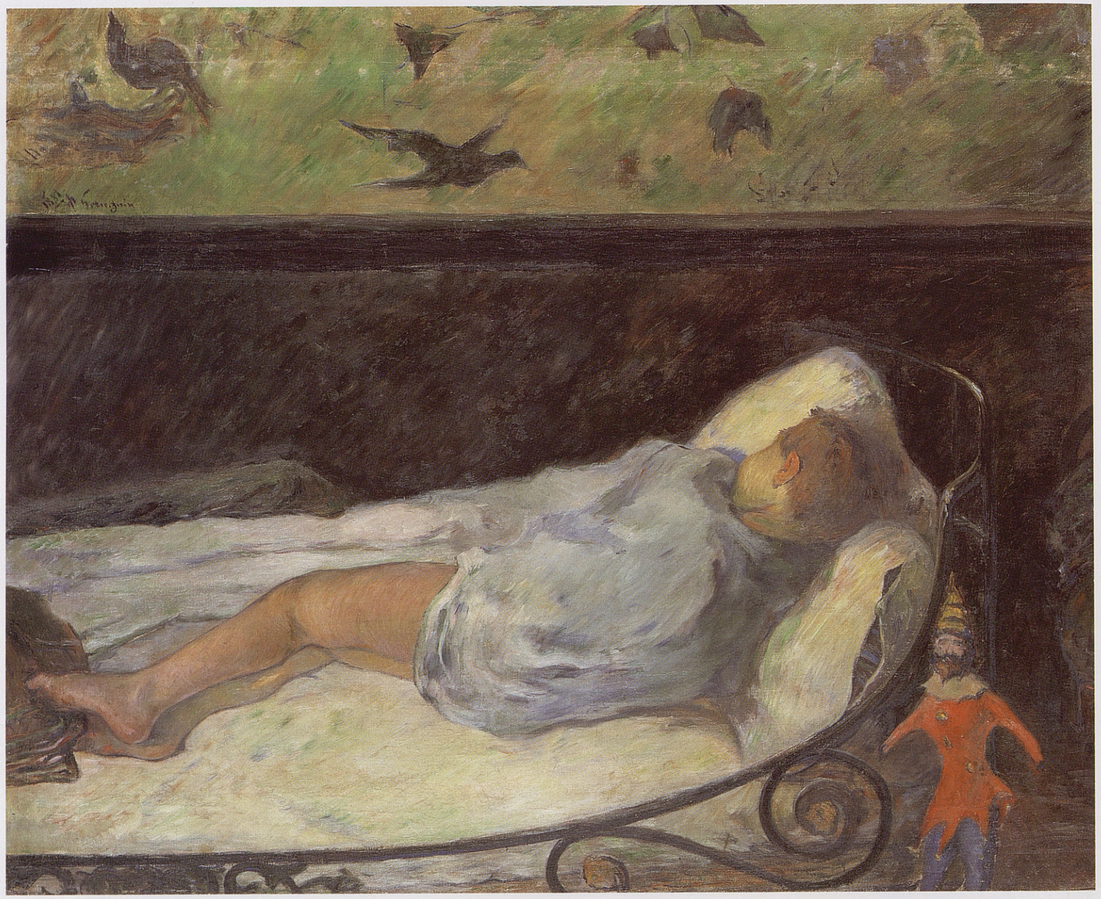
Documents and bibliography:
Vollard Archives, 1911 diary, 7 June: 'Handed over to Schuffenecker *Duck Pond* by Gauguin'.
Unpublished letter from Amédée Schuffenecker to a lady, containing a list of works drawn up for Joseph Altounian, 18 February 1919: 'Here are the prices of the Gauguins [offered for sale by Amédée] net to me […] 24° Duck Pond 4000'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 55 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *7e exposition des artistes indépendants*, Paris, 251 rue Saint-Honoré, 1882, no. 20 (*Garden Piece [Un morceau de jardin]*) – if this study is indeed from 1881; but the title might equally refer to *70* or *82*.
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 62.
Tokyo, National Art Museum, and Aichi, Prefectural Art Museum, 1987, no. 1.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Bought from Mette's family – probably from Jean Gauguin, the artist's son, who signed the back of the painting – by Hjalmar Gabrielson, Göteborg (Sweden), c. 1926, to whom it still belonged in 1949.
Stena Gretzner [ou Gretzer?], Salzö (Sweden).
Mrs S. Gretzer (Copenhagen) sale, London, Sotheby's, 23 June 1965, no. 58.
The Contemporary Art Establishment Sale, London, Sotheby's, 1 July 1970, no. 20 (bought in).

Exhibitions:
7e exposition des artistes indépendants, Paris, 251 rue Saint-Honoré, 1882, no. 27 (*Little Girl Playing*).
Oktober-Ausstellung, Basel, Kunsthalle, 1913, no. 50 (*Duck Pond*, for sale).
Paris, Galerie Nunès et Fiquet, 1917, no. 8.
Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1949-50, no. 11.
Lausanne, Musée cantonal des Beaux-Arts, 1950, no. 36.
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, 1955, no. 13 and London, Tate Gallery, 1955, no. 12.

Provenance:
(?) Vollard – see 1911 diary, **D** above: but the term *remis* ['handed over'] does not necessarily imply a sale, and no price is indicated.
Amédée Schuffenecker, Meudon, c. 1911 (see 1911 diary, letter 1919, **D** above).
Edmond Reiffers, Luxembourg, c. 1949.
Mme I. Moellers de Laddersous, Brussels, c. 1955.
Sale, Paris, Nouveau Drouot, 26 June 1986, no. 67.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 3 November 1993, no. 21.
Private collection, USA.



75

75
Sweet Dreams

Canvas. 0.595 × 0.745
Signed and dated upper left:
1881 p Gauguin
W52 and W54

The title under which the work was exhibited in 1882 was *Little Girl Dreaming [La Petite rêve]*, which proves that the subject here was indeed Gauguin's daughter Aline, and confirms a family tradition. In any case, it seems likely that Emil, who is the other possible candidate was in Denmark at this juncture (see *21*, inset).

The boyish haircut is explained by the frequent hair loss that Aline suffered over a number of years: see double portrait *(111)*. It can be seen in other 1881 pictures: *Little Girl Playing (74)*, *Gauguin's Family (70)*, and *Interior (77)*. This painting may be earlier, since Aline's hair here seems a little shorter. Aline was born on 24 December 1877, and is around three and a half in this picture. For more detail on her, see her portrait, *155*. She was her father's favourite child.

Dark wainscoting, identical to that of the big reception room of rue Carcel (cf. *76*) runs the length of the wall; the scene may therefore be set in one of the three downstairs rooms.
Clearly touched by the sight of his children stilled by sleep and absorbed in their dreams, Gauguin returned to this theme three years later, executing a portrait of *Clovis Asleep (151)*. In both cases, the scene is dominated by a wall decoration which opens onto the world of dream, and includes the evocative motif of a bird taking flight. Such backgrounds and motifs have been perceived as foreshadowing Gauguin's symbolist works; they certainly expressed a deep-rooted tendency (see *Bouquet, 62*, inset, and *Clovis Asleep*).

In the catalogue of the 1988-1989 exhibition, Stuckey remarks that *Cahier pour Aline*, which Gauguin wrote for his daughter twelve years later, includes an extended passage on *Manao tupapau* (*W457*); this picture is itself, he notes, 'in many respects a reworking of *Sweet Dreams*'.

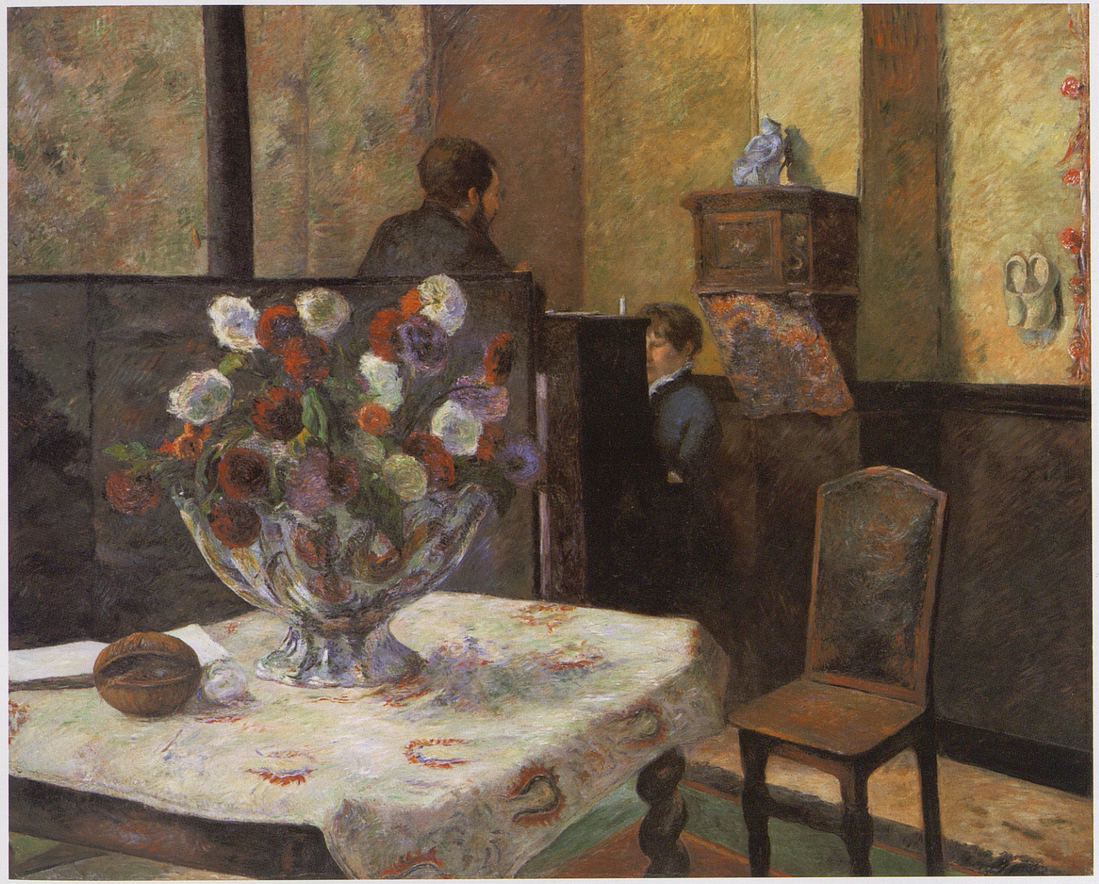
Documents and bibliography:
Wilhelm Hansens Samling, Copenhagen, 1918, no. 122.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 52 (repr.) and no. 54 (*Little Girl Dreaming*, not identified).
V. Jirat-Wasiutynski: *Gauguin in the Context of Symbolism* (doctoral thesis, Princeton University, 1975), microfilm version, 1993, p. 85, note 2.
V. Jirat-Wasiutynski and T. Newton: 'Tradition et innovation […] *Actes du colloque Gauguin* […] *1989*, Paris, 1991, p. 63 (the authors note that no major modifications are revealed under infra-red examination).

Exhibitions:
7e exposition des artistes indépendants, Paris, 251 rue Saint-Honoré, 1882, no. 22 (*Little Girl Dreaming*).
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 46.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 13.
Washington D.C., Chicago and Paris, 1988-1989, no. 8.

Provenance:
Nailed to the same stretcher as *Suburb under Snow (210)*, by which it was hidden, this painting thus passed from Mette Gauguin's hands into those of her lawyer, Konrad Levysohn.
Discovered by Levysohn and returned to Mette Gauguin c. 1915.
Bought by Wilhelm Hansen, Copenhagen, around 1918.
Henny Hansen, widow of Wilhelm, 1936.
Wilhelm and Henny Hansen donation to the Danish state in 1951:
Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard.

76
Interior, Rue Carcel

Canvas. 1.30 × 1.62
Signed and dated lower right (in black on the black plinth): *P. Gauguin 1881*
W50



76

Man at piano, sketch. Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 19, *recto*. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.

This work undoubtedly represents the main living room at 8 rue Carcel, the house to which the Gauguins moved in late 1880. There were then three downstairs rooms according to the cadastre memorandum books: a living room giving onto the garden and two rooms on the rue Carcel. All three were panelled with the wainscoting topped by a moulding seen in this picture; indeed, the nuns who took over the house in 1944 testify that the wainscoting was still in place at that date.

This picture seems to represent the garden side of the living room; the window opening onto the garden, visible in *Gauguin's Family (70)*, is probably out of sight to the left here. Today, in the basement of the house one can still see the foundations of a chimney which might be the one that appears here, to the left of the clogs. However, the representation of space in this work is not easy to interpret, and this, combined with the fact that the dividing walls of the lower floor have been knocked through, makes it difficult to be certain of such things. The corner of the room here concealed by a screen may be the subject of *77*.

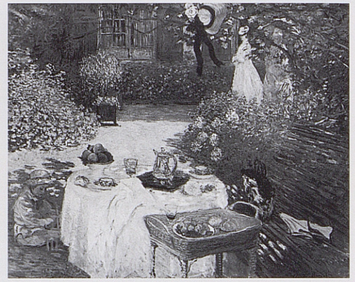
Some familiar objects are visible. Behind the woman, there is a figurine that Gauguin painted again in 1885, in the still life *171*. To the extreme right of the painting, on the edge of the canvas, the pom-poms are perhaps those of the hanging that Gauguin painted at the impasse Frémin, in *Jug and Mug (60)* and *Woman Sewing (64)*. In the centre, the vase decorated with tulips and birds still belonged to Gauguin's descendants in 1987[1]. The same piano is being played in a sketch from the sketchbook now in the collection of the Stockholm Nationalmuseum[2]. The presence, before Gauguin's visits to Brittany, of a pair of clogs is somewhat surprising. The flowers are not given a very detailed treatment, but could be dahlias, which flower between July and the first frosts. However, we cannot depend on them for dating purposes; the bouquet may have been 'introduced' into an interior painted at some other time of year.

Persons unknown ■ In the sketchbook cited, which features several sketches of the rue Carcel period, we find, on page 20 *recto*, a perfunctory sketch of a man's head; the man is bearded with a receding forehead. He is seen from the same viewpoint as the male figure in this picture, and should perhaps be connected with him. On the same page of the sketchbook is a more detailed full-face portrait, which may (again) be of the same man. There is no clue as to the model.

We know nothing about the persons represented in this picture. They do not resemble Gauguin and his wife, nor the round, plump Schuffenecker and the young woman whom he had married in October 1880; Schuffenecker's forehead did not recede in this way, and his wife's beauty was more delicate. Among Gauguin's known friends and acquaintances, Jacques Jobbé-Duval and his wife Marie are plausible candidates. Jacques and his family had lived at 8 rue Carcel before Gauguin (see *Church, 69*, inset); in 1881, they were living not far away at 24 rue Dombasle. Jacques was twenty-seven, and his wife, née Dureau, thirty. But this is pure hypothesis: the subjects here, though they seem to be close family friends, may simply be unknown to us.

Man with goatee, detail of a sketch. Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 20, *recto*. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.

Hybrids and labyrinths ■ Like *Woman Sewing (64)* of 1880, this is clearly an ambitious work, which reflects the desire expressed by Gauguin in the summer of 1881 to create what he calls a real 'picture'[3]. By this, he meant 'things premeditated and matured from the point of view of the arrangement and the scene'[4]. He was no longer satisfied to paint exclusively from nature (see *Breton Shepherdess, 233*, inset).



C. Monet: *Luncheon*, 1873 (D. Wildenstein 285). Paris, Musée d'Orsay. Photo: Druet-Vizzavona.

The work takes its inspiration, as Stuckey observes[5], from a hybrid formula combining still life and genre scene, a formula frequently adopted by Degas, Renoir and Monet. Monet's *Luncheon* (Wildenstein 285), which Gauguin must have seen at the 1876 Impressionist exhibition, was a magisterial example of this.

Still Life (164), painted four years later in Copenhagen, returns to this formula, while *Interior with Aline (77), Clovis Asleep (151)* and many subsequent works (such as *238*, in which Laval appears) combine still life and portrait. In the 1882 exhibition, Gauguin chose to call these composite works 'still lifes'. There are signs here, too, of Gauguin's entirely personal preoccupations. The spatial organisation of the picture is astonishing: the perspective is difficult to decipher in the

absence of any parallels shared between screen and table, while the prominent table-corner, the enormous bouquet, and the disappearance of one face behind the piano in the background emphasise both depth and its division into a succession of layered planes. Yet this sense of depth is all but contradicted by the approximation of the play of light on the walls and the arrangement of the bands of darker colour (screen and wainscoting).

This is, then, an early manifestation of Gauguin's relentless aspiration to manipulate space (see the introduction to this period). The 'pleated' back wall, with its decorative motifs that pick up those of the tablecloth, is an example of Gauguin's new quest for 'abstract' backgrounds (cf. *Flowers and Carpet, 61*). The work combines ambition and experiment in a way unprecedented in Gauguin's previous career.

[1] See the catalogue of the 1988-1989 exhibition.
[2] Gauguin's sketchbook, early 1870s-early 1880s (Bjurström, 1986), p. 19 *recto*.
[3] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, August or September 1881 (Merlhès 17).
[4] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, May-June 1882 (Merlhès 23).
[5] Catalogue of the 1988-1990 exhibition.

77

77
Interior with Aline

Canvas. 0.53 × 0.61
Signed and dated lower right:
p. Gauguin 1881
W51

Aline was born in December 1877, and is less than four years old in this picture. A hair-loss problem forced her to wear her hair very short: see *111*. Since her hair is a little longer here, it seems likely that the picture dates from late in the year.

In the Gauguin sketchbook in the collection of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm[1], there are several drawings dating from the rue Carcel period, among them a sketch showing one of Gauguin's children – perhaps Aline, the youngest – taking a meal at a round table like the one here, and sitting on what seems to be the same sofa. The table and sofa were perhaps behind the screen shown in *76*, since the stovepipe and the colour of the walls seem alike in the two paintings. This is again a hybrid between still life and interior; see *Interior, Rue Carcel (76)*.

[1] Gauguin's sketchbook, early 1870s-early 1880s (Bjurström, 1968), p. 18, *verso*.

Documents and bibliography:
J. de Nivelle [C. Canivet]: 'Les Peintres indépendants', *Le Soleil*, 4 March 1882, p. 2: 'Look, for example, at these *Flowers, Still Life*, by Monsieur Gauguin. They were depicted, it seems, through fog, in some London shop-window, or at very least seen through condensation into which their colours have leached'.
J.-K. Huysmans: *L'Art moderne*, Paris, 1883, reprinted 1908, (retrospectively published review of the 1882 Impressionist exhibition), p. 288: 'The colours of his studio interior are unpleasantly subdued and moth-eaten'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 50 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
7e exposition des artistes indépendants, Paris, 251 rue Saint-Honoré, 1882, no. 18 (*Flowers, Still Life*). Huysmans' review (**D** above) proves that this was the picture exhibited under this slightly affected title.
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 70.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 6 in the 2nd edition (does not appear in the 1st edition).
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 11.
Washington D.C., Chicago and Paris, 1988-1989, no. 7.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Bought from Mette in 1917 by:
Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet – inv. 1153.

Documents and bibliography:
J. de Nivelle [C. Canivet]: 'Les Peintres indépendants', *Le Soleil*, 4 March 1882, p.2: '[child] busy peeling oranges that look like egg-yolks'.
L. Leroy: 'Exposition des impressionnistes', *Le Charivari*, 17 March 1882, p. 2: 'look at the *Oranges* by Monsieur Gauguin. This fruit, when ripe, is generally golden yellow. […] Yes, but if I paint it the way people normally see it, I become banal […] Whereas, by filling a circle with little slivers of dirty grey, I make my effect'.
If this is indeed the still life exhibited in 1886, it is cited by the following critics: R. Darzens: 'Exposition des impressionnistes', *La Pléiade*, May 1886 (in Merlhès, 1984, p. 422): 'A still life, with oranges, should also be seen'; F. Fénéon: 'Les Impressionnistes', *La Vogue*, 13-20 June 1886, p. 267: 'a most skilfully executed still life'; F. Fénéon: *Les Impressionnistes en 1886*, Paris, 1886 (J. Halperin, ed: *Félix Fénéon. Oeuvres plus que complètes*, Geneva, 1970, p. 33) – this slim volume reprints the *Vogue* article with some variants; J. Ajalbert: 'Le Salon des impressionnistes', *La*

Revue Moderne, 20 June 1886, p. 389: 'a still life, oranges'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 51 (repr.).

Exhibitions:

7e exposition des artistes indépendants, Paris, 251 rue Saint-Honoré, 1882, no. 26 (*Oranges, Still Life*); see reviews, **D** above.
(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 42 (*Still Life*): the reviews quoted above (**D**) prove that oranges were represented in this still life. Other candidates include *59* (perhaps of slightly less 'skilful' execution); *215*, a small canvas, rather lacking in 'finish' that was perhaps rather lightweight for such an exhibition; or even another still life mentioned as figuring among the 20 canvases (0.54 × 0.73 cm in landscape format) in a list of works deposited with Boussod and Valadon around October 1890 (J. Rewald: 'Theo Van Gogh, Goupil and the Impressionists', *GBA*, January-February 1973, p. 49): this list may contain erroneous dimensions so that the existence of the 'Boussod and Valadon' work cannot be guaranteed; we shall also propose identifying it with *W401*, where this rather complex question will be dealt with in detail).
London, Leicester Galleries, 1924, no. 46.

Provenance:

Very probably: Gauguin's family.
Hermann Sandberg, Stockholm, c. 1948.
Mrs B. Shine, London, c. 1974.
Private collection.

78

78
Two Sketches for a Self-Portrait

Canvas. 0.54 × 0.65

These are Gauguin's first known attempts at self-portrayal. They are sketched out on the back of *Garden, Quai du Pothuis (82).* The arrangement of the two faces on either side of the central upright tells us that they were painted after the canvas was nailed to the stretcher. It therefore seems unlikely that the self-portraits were attempted before the landscape, and that Gauguin then reversed the canvas for *Garden*. The landscape may have been painted first.

Provenance:

See *82.*

79

80

79
Portrait of a Child (probably Jean Gauguin)

Canvas. 0.19 × 0.17

The style of this little sketch offers few clues to its date. It seems likely to be from late 1881 since the baby is presumably Jean (born April 1881) and not, as their elder brother Pola claimed in 1925, Clovis (born May 1879). The very strong resemblance with the child depicted in the pastel *W53* confirms the identity of the model here. The pastel was exhibited in spring 1882 with other paintings and pastels (all from 1881) and is certainly of Jean.

Provenance:

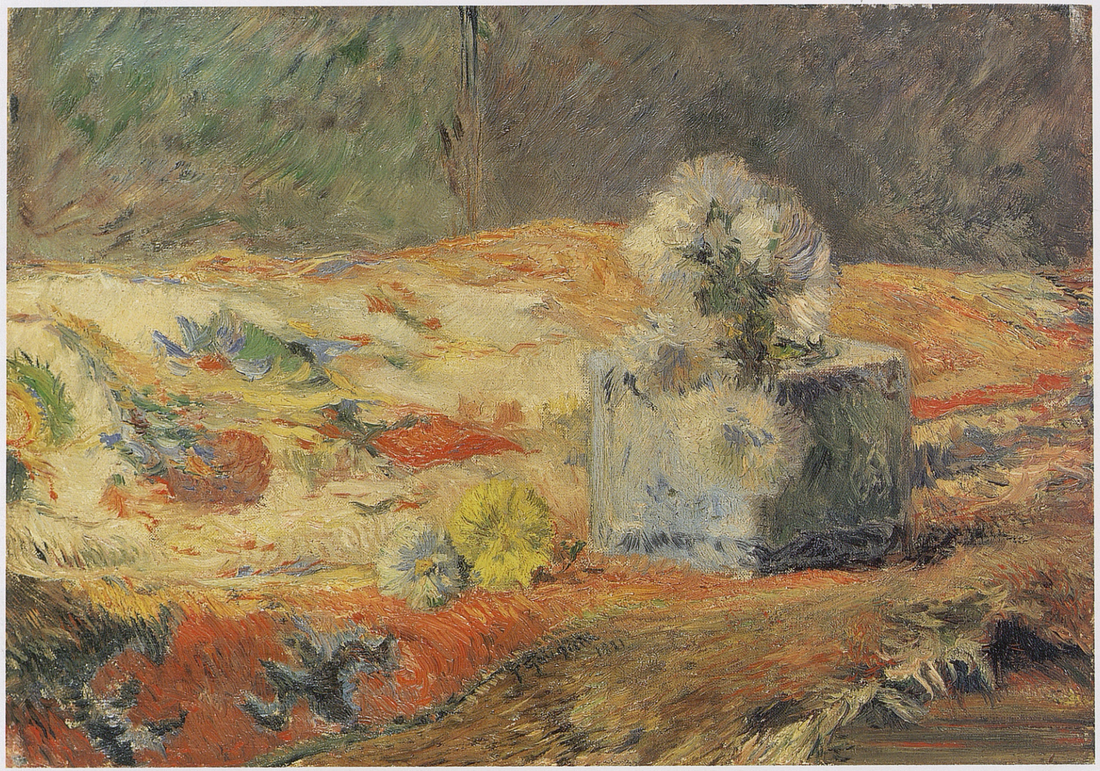
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Pola Gauguin (the artist's son: a certificate by Pola attached to the back of the work states that he inherited the work from his mother).
Mrs Blakemore Wheeler, USA, 1960.
Bequeathed by Mrs Blakemore Wheeler in 1964 as: **Louisville (Kentucky), The J.B. Speed Art Museum, Bequest of Mrs Blakemore Wheeler – 64.31.28.**

80
Vase of Flowers and Window

Canvas. 0.19 × 0.27
Signed lower left: *p Gauguin*
[the tail of the 'p' has been effaced]
W63

This still life was painted in the room giving onto the garden, on the first floor of 8 rue Carcel. The wrought-iron window rail still exists, as does the house visible in the background (it also appears in *Snow, Rue Carcel, 97* and *98*). The house is now masked by more recent buildings, but still stands at 10 rue Petel. A photograph of it can be found opposite *97.*

Window rail, rue Carcel.



81

The vase followed the Gauguins to Denmark, where Gauguin painted it in *Lilac (168)*.
As in *Flowers (81)*, and certain older works, the surface is a little untidy; should we perceive, in the way that the tablecloth is 'sculpted' by the brushstrokes, an early intimation of Gauguin's meeting with Cézanne that took place in 1881 (see introduction to the period 1879-1883)?

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 63 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *7e exposition des artistes indépendants*, Paris, 251 rue Saint-Honoré, 1882, no. 23: *In the Window, Still Life* (unless this was 92).
(?) *First Loan Exhibition*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1929, no. 53 (*Still Life*, 9 × 12 in. – 0.225 × 0.305, Percy Moor Turner Collection, London); see P.
Salon d'Automne, Paris, Grand Palais, 1978, no number.
Gauguin et les peintres de Bretagne, Japan, 1992, no. 16.
Gauguin y la escuela de Pont-Aven, Mexico, Museo del Palacio de Bellas Artes, 1995-1996, no. 53.
La Ronde des petites Bretonnes. Une évocation de l'art de Pont-Aven autour du chef-d'œuvre de Washington, Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1996-1997, no number.

Provenance:
According to an unverifiable source, this picture belonged to Barbazanges, then to Percy Moore Turner, London, and is the work exhibited in New York in 1929 (see E above).
Carle Dreyfus, Paris.
Bequeathed by Carle Dreyfus to the Louvre in 1953 – RF 1953.6.
Deposited in 1954 with:
Rennes (France), Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie – D.54.2.1.

81
Flowers and Carpet

Canvas. 0.19 × 0.27
Signed and dated lower centre:
p Gauguin / 1881
W64

The date on the painting makes this picture later than *61*, which nevertheless represents the same vase and is of very similar subject.
These two little canvases are the *locus* of two different experiments; in *61*, Gauguin was exploring a form of 'abstract' background, while this one is concerned with the way in which the surface is worked. Here the flux and the slightly untidy surface are reminiscent of *Vase of Flowers (80)* of the same year.

For a long time, Gauguin had intermittently practised a flurried or slightly crude technique in his small-scale works (cf. *Port de Javel, 29*); here, the roughly-textured surfaces seem to pull in different directions, eschewing all traditional harmony in a manner that perhaps reflects the inspiration of Cézanne, whom Gauguin had met this year (see the introduction to this period).

Documents and bibliography:
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 226: 'Lewis Brown still life given'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 64 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
7e exposition des artistes indépendants, Paris, 251 rue Saint-Honoré, 1882, no. 24 (*Flowers and Carpet, Still Life*).
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 8.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 13.

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to the painter and engraver John Lewis Brown (1829-1890). Irish in origin, Lewis was born and died in France, where he won success as a painter of horses, dogs, and military and hunting scenes. In late 1881, Gauguin had bought Lewis' *Jockey Chatting with Pedestrians* from Durand-Ruel (V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 354). The gift of the present work may have taken place in late 1887, since it is recorded in Gauguin's sketchbook between two transactions of that date. But this remains a presumption; all such indications may have been put down in the sketchbook retrospectively, and in no particular order.
Mlle J.L. B […] Sale, Paris, Georges Petit, 22 May 1919, no. 21 (to Mancini).
Sale, Paris, Drouot, 21 May 1943, no. 49.
Private collection, France.

82
Pissarro's Garden (Quai du Pothuis, Pontoise)

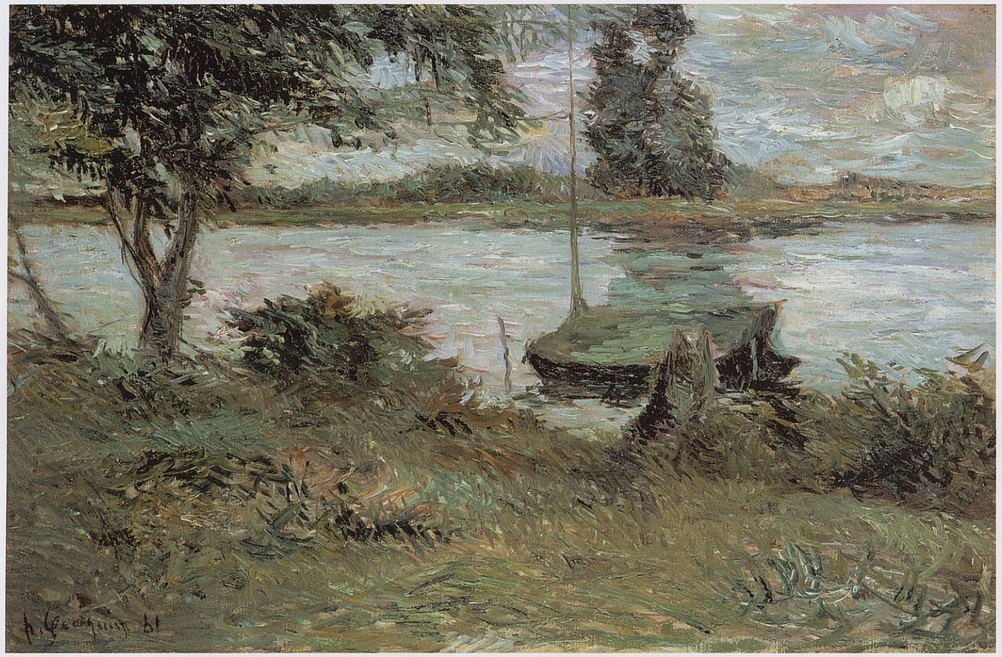
Canvas. 0.65 × 0.54
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 81
W58

This painting is of the same motif as one of Pissarro's works, *Study at Pontoise, Quai du Pothuis, Garden* (Pissarro-Venturi 570). Bailly-Herzberg tells us that Pissarro had moved to 85 quai du Pothuis (now 15 quai Eugène Turpin) around July 1881[1].

82

On the far right of the Pissarro painting there is the pillar of an entrance gateway. The painters had thus set up their easels at the bottom of the garden, and were looking toward the river. Between the trees on the quai (above the roof, and far right) one can make out, right at the back, the poplars of the Île de Pothuis, opposite Pissarro's house. Today the garden is hardly recognisable, the old buildings shown here having been replaced by a house probably built shortly after Pissarro's departure.
The leafless branch and the umbrella (whose positioning in the extreme foreground is perhaps a distant echo of certain effects used by Caillebotte) suggest an

C. Pissarro: *Study at Pontoise, Garden of the Quai du Pothuis* (Pissarro-Venturi 570). Private collection. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.



83

autumnal setting. On the other hand, the rest of the foliage seems green enough, and the two objects may have been introduced for their compositional value. The flowers might be either roses or dahlias, which rule out neither summer nor autumn. (Merhlès notes that August 1881 was rather cool after a particularly hot July)[2]. One of Gauguin's letters (almost certainly from July 1881)[3] confirms that he visited Pissarro that year. We do not know whether the two artists painted their view of the garden side-by-side, or whether Gauguin here chose (as so often in the period 1882-1883) to tackle a motif that Pissarro had already painted (see the introduction to the period 1879-1883, and *Osny, Rue de Pontoise, 99*, inset). Gauguin had now been working under Pissarro's tutelage for two years; this is first known picture that shares a subject with Pissarro, and suggests Gauguin's desire to follow in his master's footsteps. On the back of this landscape are the two unfinished sketches for self-portraits (see *78*).

[1] J. Bailly-Herzberg: *Correspondance de Camille Pissarro*, vol. 1, Paris, 1980, p. 37.
[2] Merlhès, 1984, p. 348, note 52 (D).
[3] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, probably July 1881 (Merlhès 16).

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 58 (repr.).
V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 351.

Exhibitions:
(?) *7e exposition des artistes indépendants*, Paris, 251 rue Saint-Honoré, 1882, no. 20 (*Garden Piece [Morceau de jardin]*) – but this could also be *70* or *73*.
Gauguin and Cézanne, London, Stafford Gallery, 1911, no. 13 (*The Umbrella*).

Provenance:
Bought from Baillehache by Bernheim-Jeune, 3 November 1904 (no. 13841), this painting remained in the firm's hands until at least 1907.
Bought by Breynat, Paris, after World War I.
Monsieur et Madame P.-M. D., France, c. 1989, by inheritance.

83
Banks of the Oise

Canvas. 0.31 × 0.47
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 81
W60

This picture probably represents the right bank of the River Oise, slightly upstream of Pissarro's house at 85 quai du Pothuis, with the Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône bank opposite. It was therefore painted before December 1882, when Pissarro left Pontoise.
Its technique suggests the years 1881 or 1882; the signature has a curly 'G', like that of many 1884 signatures, and would seem to be later; we cannot therefore rule out the possibility that Gauguin was one year out in dating this work. Note, too, that *Barge (90)* also bears a Rouen-period signature; despite their points of resemblance, Gauguin did not date them to the same year.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 60 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Chicago, Chicago Art Institute, and New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1959, no. 1.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Cincinnati Art Museum, 1971, no. 3.

Provenance:
Galerie Dru, Paris.
Nicholas Roerich, New York.
The Roerich Museum Sale, New York, Anderson Galleries, 27-28 March 1930, no. 35.
Mr and Mrs Paolino Gerli, New York, c. 1959.
[Gerli] sale, London, Christie's, 30 June 1970, no. 41 (to Mrs David Buchanan, London).
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 19 May 1983, no. 304 (to Lance Funston, Houston).
Sale, New York, Christie's, 13 November 1985, no. 261.

84
Bank in Winter

Canvas. 0.225 × 0.205
W76

This little study, whose technique would seem to place it between 1880 and 1884, was perhaps painted in the Pontoise region during the winter of 1881-1882.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 76 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 16.
Paul Gauguin og hans Venner, Copenhagen, Winkel & Magnussen, 1956, no. 72.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 15.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Given by Mette to Anna Caspara Arntzen.
Ingeborg Heering, daughter of the above, Copenhagen, c. 1948.
Inge Lise Heering, bequeathed in 1978 to:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – 3101.

84

85

85
Chou Quarries at Pontoise I

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.73
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 1882
W70

Comparison with a Pissarro canvas of the same year (Pissarro-Venturi, no. 559) has made it possible to identify the motif of this painting. The Carrières du Chou lie above the road that leads from L'Hermitage to Auvers (now the rue des Coteaux), between the chemin de la Côte Lézard and the chemin de la Maison du Chou (now chemin du Général). They were about a quarter of an hour's walk from Pissarro's house at 85 quai du Pothuis (where *Pissarro's Garden, 82* was painted). The site has now become a mushroom bed, and a platform and a few odd buildings have been constructed, but it is perfectly recognisable; the vegetation on the surrounding quarry-faces still runs riot as it did in Gauguin's day. To this picturesque site Pissarro led the young painters who sought him out. A drawing by his son Georges, known as Manzana (b. 1871), records his memory of an 'Impressionist picnic' in a very similar place; Guillaumin, Cézanne, Mme Cézanne and Gauguin had all accompanied Manzana's father. Three easels are set up,

The site in recent times.

which suggests that painting took place. Manzana's drawing shows Cézanne facing down the hillside as it falls away towards the Oise, and Cézanne did indeed paint a picture at the quarries, looking down the slope (Venturi 311). Was this during the picnic, whose date remains obscure? Manzana's drawing is of a much later date. Cézanne was living in Pontoise only in 1881, but he may well have visited Pissarro at other times.
The paintings by Pissarro and Gauguin look along the hillside, to the south rather than, like Cézanne, downhill to the south-east. The point of view is almost identical in the two paintings, though Pissarro's is somewhat earlier in the season, since the trees are only just coming into leaf. No work by Guillaumin representing this motif is known.
In adopting motifs painted by Pissarro, as he had already done in 1881 with *Pissarro's Garden (82)*, and was to do systematically during 1883 (see *Osny, Rue de Pontoise, 99*, inset), Gauguin undertook a revealing exercise that allowed him to assert his own identity beside that of his master. Here the deformation of perspective and the spatial simplifications are some of the first indications of the attention he was lavishing on Cézanne's experiments. On the other hand, the very dynamic sense of space remains personal to Gauguin (see the introduction to the period 1879-1883). Gauguin set himself a further exercise by painting a second version of this work: *86*.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 70 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 26.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 9.

Provenance:
The painter Johannes Wilhjelm, Copenhagen, c. 1926.
Elsa Essberger, Hamburg.
Hugo Perls, Berlin.
Galerie Caspari, Munich, c. 1928.
Joseph Harto, Shanghai.
W.J. Bilson, USA.
Mr and Mrs Norman B. Woolworth Sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, 31 October 1962, no. 19 (to Mrs L.M. Stoddard).

C. Pissarro: *Chou Quarries* (Pissarro-Venturi 559).
Photo: Sotheby's.

Manzana Pissarro: *Impressionist Picnic*, drawing.
Private collection. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

P. Cézanne: *The Plain of Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône* (Venturi 311). Private collection.
Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

The plain of Saint-Ouen seen from the quarries today.

86

86
Chou Quarries at Pontoise II

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.73
Signed lower left: *p Gauguin*
W71

This painting is a less sensitive record of reality than *85*, and seems to be a studio repeat of it. Its more nervous surface rhythms may reflect the complexity of certain Cézanne compositions.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 71 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Cincinnati (Ohio), Cincinnati Art Museum, 1971, no. 4.

Provenance:
(?) Bignou, Paris.
Raphaël Gérard, Paris.
Bought from Gérard by Reid and Lefevre, London, 1936.
Purchased in 1947, with funds donated by H.S. Southam, by:
Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada – 4842.

Repeats

Though repeats occur periodically in Gauguin's work, they are neither frequent nor systematic. They are the product of very diverse, not to say contradictory, intentions, some of them conventional, others experimental.

Refining ▪ During the first half of the 1870s, the repeats are often simply copies, so similar in size and treatment that it is often hard to know which is the study from nature and which was worked up in the studio. But it is clear that in general the neophyte Gauguin's intention was to paint a more finished and rather neater version of the study (thus *In the Forest 2* and *3*, *Waterside Houses 8* and *9*, *On the Farm 10* and *11*, and *Port de Grenelle 17* and *18*). The *Rouen Road* of 1885 *(163)* is also a copy, this time smaller than the original, *125*; it was no doubt made in order to fix the memory of the earlier study, which he may have wished to sell or give way.

A similar aspiration toward a more carefully crafted or composed form, or even a more official style, occasionally prevailed in the late 1870s and on into the 1880s; the result was repeats comprising some variation of motif and, often, a larger scale. Thus the *Apple Trees (50, 51, 52)* move steadily toward a Salon format and a similar progression is observable in the *Snow* paintings *(56, 57)*. In 1883, the second of the pair of *Snow* paintings *(97, 98)* testifies to Gauguin's compositional ambitions. Examples from 1885 include the two *Stable* paintings *(188, 189)* and perhaps the *Lane* pair *(198, 199)*. In 1886, the little study *Farm (230)* prepares the way for *231*. After 1886, Gauguin gave up this entirely conventional practice, apparently perceiving his work in a new and different light.

Transformation ▪ But almost from the start, certain of his repeats show brushwork quite different from the studies on which they were based. It is as though Gauguin sought to impart a different kind of life through different handling of the same subject. In 1874, *Clearing (7)* might be an attempt to attain a more modern manner than that of *6*; around 1876, the two versions of *Port de Javel (29, 30)* clearly reflect Gauguin's quest for new forms of notation.
In 1882, repeats become relatively systematic (see the Pontoise *Quarries, 85-88*). Though the brushwork of *85* and *86* is relatively similar, the flux present in the first is exacerbated and unified in the second, so that the emphasis in the second falls much more on the dynamic surface of the painting; the surface comes to the fore. Gauguin's meeting with Cézanne occurred shortly before these paintings, and his example seems to have encouraged Gauguin to experiment (see the introduction to the period 1879-1883); these repeats reflect his renewed interest in stylistic experiment.
In 1885-1886, *Watering Place (194)* and *Water (196)* were followed a few months later by smaller versions *(203* and *209)*; in these paintings still more than in the *Quarries*, the visual acuity present in the first is blurred by the unexpected treatment so emphatically conferred on the second version. Perhaps they reflect a combination of goals: fixing the memory of a successful study while experimenting with a hitherto untried manner.

Gauguin seems to have given up repeats in the second half of the 1880s, no doubt because he was surer of himself. He could now attain the desired effect without the assistance of a preliminary work, and if he wanted to conduct stylistic experiments, he did so directly, with the subject in hand. He was now strong enough to follow the promptings of his own nature – in which repetition had no place.
Of course, there were still occasions when he wanted to fix the memory of a composition in a smaller version (for example, panels *266* and *299* that reproduce *Winter (265)* and *Wrestlers (298)*. But for the most part Gauguin now abandoned not only direct reproduction of his own work but also the process of gradually working up a composition through intermediary paintings.

Re-using excerpts ▪ By contrast, he continued to quote fragments of earlier works. Sometimes these are composite scenes bringing together elements from quite different sources almost arbitrarily: examples include *Winter* of 1885 *(162)* or the still life *239*. But more and more often he returned to components that he had already used, systematically adapting them to differing contexts. In 1884, the *Peony* motif is found on different backgrounds and the same bird and the same little cow recur in different pictures (see the introduction to the Rouen period). These figures, like words used again and again in different sentences, soon became elements in a system of composition (see *Breton Shepherdess, 233*, inset).

87
Quarry, Overcast Weather

We know from his letter to Pissarro of 9 November (see *88*, **D**) that, in 1882, Gauguin painted a quarry landscape in overcast weather, repeating it in a no. 50 canvas.
88 – Chou Quarry, Hole in the Cliff – is a no. 50, and is therefore one of the versions of this motif. The fate of the other version is unknown; Gauguin may have destroyed it. The two versions of this motif may, like *85* and *86*, have been the same size, in which case only close comparison could establish priority.
On the other hand, a no. 50 canvas is a very large format for a study, and it is possible that a smaller study preceded the large-format repeat.

Provenance:
Disappeared.

88

88
Chou Quarry, Hole in the Cliff

Canvas. 0.89 × 1.16
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 1882
W72

Painted, like *85-87*, at Chou Quarries, this painting shows the same cliff further to the north-east, Gauguin having turned to look in the other direction[1].
Having painted this motif during a visit to Pissarro at some point in 1882, Gauguin wrote to his master on 9 November (**D**): 'when you come to Paris, I *need* you to come to the house. I've finished a no. 50 which I've put a lot of work into. It's a repeat of the overcast weather in the quarry that I did in Pontoise./ Bertaux to whom I owed a 1,000 franc note is buying it from me and I would really like to have your opinion of the picture before it goes'.
We have catalogued the other version of this painting *(87)* among the works that have disappeared. Perhaps this picture, with its broad, relatively undifferentiated surfaces, is the repeat painted around November 1882. It is, at all events, a no. 50 canvas, no doubt cut from the roll of canvas 1.20 metres wide that Gauguin had bought three years before (see *Apple Trees, 52*).
Gauguin was anxious to have Pissarro's opinion on his latest works because he was conducting a sort of programme of research, and the repeat procedure was an excellent system for such experiments (see *Chou Quarries, 86*, inset). Many aspects of the present painting – such as the distorted and almost artificial space, the frank dissonance of certain traits, and the atmosphere of solitude conveyed by the subject – are alien to Pissarro's teaching and belong to the already very modern experiments that Gauguin was making. These benefited from the example of Cézanne and from their long discussions of the previous summer (see introduction to the period 1879-1883).

[1] We should like to thank Monsieur Alain Motte for identifying this motif.

Documents and bibliography:
Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 9 November 1882 (Merlhès 29), cited above.
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe 1952), p. 228: '[sold to] Bertaux Pontoise Landscape [FF] 500/ [idem] Pontoise Landscape [FF] 500'.
Vollard Archives, 1899 inventory: '[no.] 4098 Small green hill 1882 Oil 98 × 105'. The register records neither provenance nor resale.
Probably: Vollard Archives, inventory of 1 January 1922, no. 5471: 'Landscape – Oil – 86 × 116 – [valued FF] 1500'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 72 (repr.).
V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 370, notes 81 and 82.

Exhibitions:
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 10.
Tokyo, Kyoto and Fukuoka, 1969, no. 5.
Salon d'automne, Paris, Grand Palais, 1978, no number.
Washington D.C., Chicago and Paris 1988-1989, no. 11 (exhibited in Washington and Chicago only).
Gauguin, les XX et La Libre Esthétique, Liège, Salle Saint-Georges, 1994-1995, no. 4.

Provenance:
Sold by Gauguin in November 1882 to his friend the outside broker Emile-Armand Bertaux (on whom, see *96*) for FF 500, with another Pontoise landscape at the same price: see Gauguin's letter and sketchbook, **D** above.
Vollard, c. 1899, see register, **D** above.
Bought from a friend of Vollard's by René Küss, Paris, shortly after World War II.
Sale, Versailles, Hôtel Rameau, 4 June 1975, no. 107 (bought in).
Purchased 1981 by the Vereinigung Zürcher Kunstfreunde; on permanent loan to:
Zurich (Switzerland), Kunsthaus – 1981-5.

89

89
Gratte Coqs Path

Canvas. 0.545 × 0.455
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 82

The Gratte Coqs path crosses the high part of the hillside that dominates the eastern part of l'Hermitage, slightly below the spot represented in *50*. L'Hermitage is invisible in the hollow, while in the background one can see the Cordeliers plateau that runs along the west of l'Hermitage. The house where Pissarro had been living since the previous year, on the quai de Pothuis, was only five or ten minutes away.

The Gratte Coqs path looking north.

Exhibitions:
Le Mouvement impressionniste dans l'école de Pont-Aven, Pont-Aven, Musée de Pont-Aven, 1978, no. 1.
Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée départemental du Prieuré, 1985, no. 32.

Provenance:
Ziegler, Paris (bought pre-1939 on the Paris art market).
Private collection, Switzerland, c. 1988.

90

90
Blue Barge

Canvas. 0.31 × 0.47
Signed and dated lower right:
p Gauguin 82
W73

Barges on the Oise were a motif to which Pissarro had easy access, and he often painted them prior to the period in which he and Gauguin worked side by side (see Pissarro-Venturi 160, 161, 358, and 403).
The signature with the curly 'G' may have been added later, in 1884; a parallel case is *Banks of the Oise (83)*, whose signature and dating (1881) were probably added in 1884. It follows that the date in the signature is not necessarily correct, but in both subject and technique this work does seem to belong to the period 1879-1882. The foreground effect here somewhat resembles the one in *Pissarro's Garden (82)*.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 73 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Palm Beach (Florida), Society of the Four Arts, 1956, no. 9.
Coral Gables (Florida), Joe and Emily Lowe Art Gallery, 1956, no. 7.

Provenance:
Bought from Baillehache by Bernheim-Jeune on 3 November 1904 and sold to Bernier on 4 November 1904 (document 15058 – Baillehache had no doubt deposited it with Bernheim for sale).
Albert Bernier Sale, Paris, Drouot, 23 November 1910, no. 14 (to Martin).
Faure.

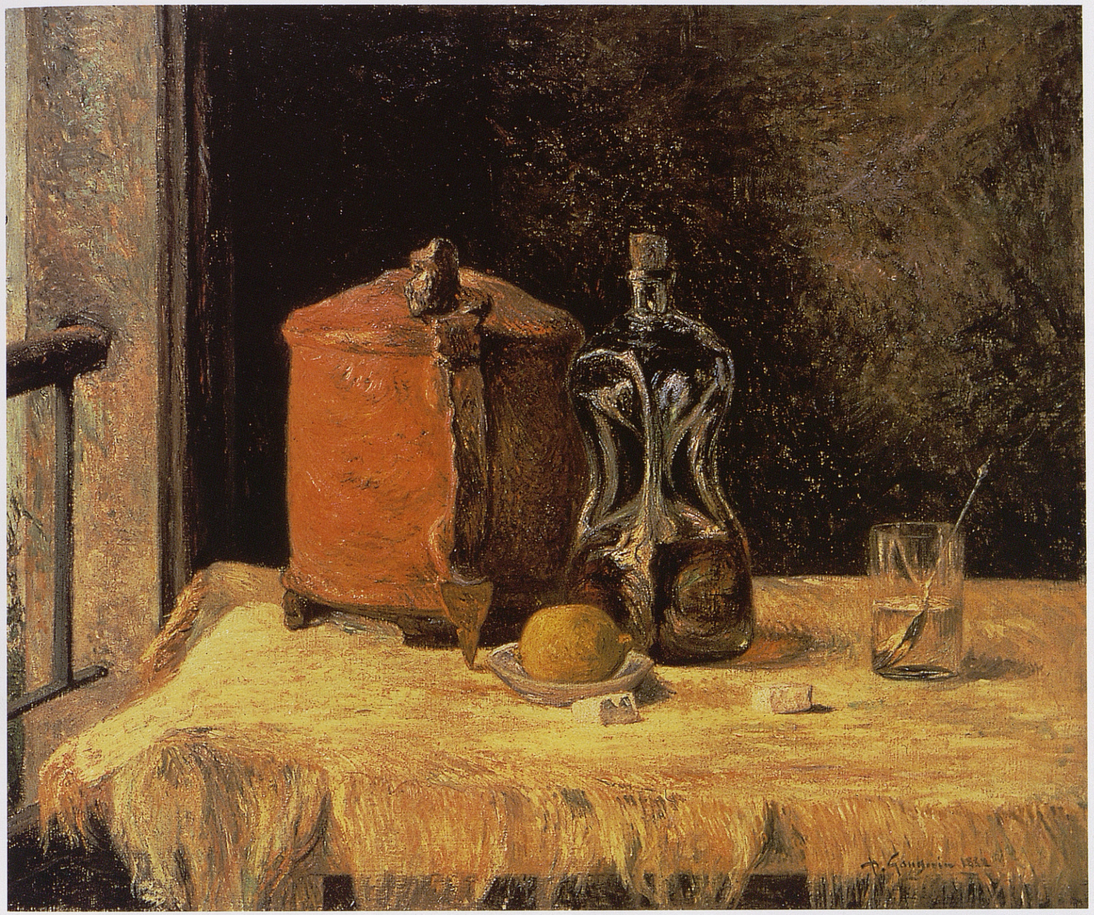
91

Duc de Trévise Sale, London, Sotheby's, 9 July 1936, no. 103 (to Mr and Mrs Jefferson Wyne).
Mr and Mrs Jefferson Wyne (or Wynne), Miami Beach (still belonged to them in 1956).
Mrs Nino Bisso, Surfside (Florida).
Donated by Mrs Ione Staley Bisso, Surfside, to the Joe and Emily Lowe Art Gallery, University of Miami, Coral Gables (Florida) in 1958.
Coral Gables (Florida), Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami – 58.291.000.

91
Landscape

Canvas. 0.140 × 0.105
Signed lower left: *P G*

If this little sketch was painted in the Pontoise region, which is plausible enough, it dates from 1879-1883. Gauguin seems to have considered it representative of a modern manner (see **P**). Pissarro too had made a number of tiny *con brio* landscapes, with which Gauguin may well have been acquainted: see, for example, Pissarro-Venturi 459, 460, 463, 464.



92

Documents and bibliography:
L. Find: 'Et Par Erindringer' [the memoirs of the Danish painter L. Find who was part of Mette Gauguin's circle around 1890], *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, XXVIII [1941], p. 2 (Danish original): 'one of the few artists who had personal relations with Gauguin, the old painter Rudolf Bertelsen, told me that, during a visit to Mette Gauguin (née Gad, she was a childhood friend of Bertelsen's), he had a violent quarrel with her husband, who was a rather crackpot French painter. Bertelsen had argued in favour of Godfred Christensen, and Gauguin in favour of Gauguin. The affair didn't end too badly, though, since Gauguin made Bertelsen a present of a little sketch, which he still possesses'.
D. Sutton: 'Notes on P. Gauguin Apropos a Recent Exhibition', *The Burlington Magazine*, March 1956, p. 86.

Provenance:
According to L. Find (**D** above), in 1885 this sketch was given to the Danish landscape painter Rudolf Volhelm Valdemar Bertelsen (born 1828), whom Mette Gauguin (according to Find) had known since her childhood.
Aage Bertelsen, Danish painter (1873-1945), son of R. Bertelsen above.
Karen Dorthea Bertelsen, widow of A. Bertelsen above.
Sold by Karen Bertelsen on the Paris art market, c. 1955.

92
Still Life with *Tine* and *Carafon*

Canvas. 0.54 × 0.65
Signed and dated lower right:
p. Gauguin 1882

This still life has a wintry air and probably dates from the early months of the year. The principal objects it portrays are Scandinavian. The large mug (*tine*) is Norwegian; it belonged to Mette Gauguin, had already

been depicted in *Jug and Mug (60)*, and was to make further appearances in *Clovis Asleep (151)* and *Interior (164)*. And the half-carafe (*carafon*) of brandy is, according to Bodelsen (**D**), Danish. The (raffia?) tablecloth would seem to be the one represented in *Flowers (95)*.

The presence of family paraphernalia such as the *tine* and the tablecloth, combined with the date, suggest that this work was painted at rue Carcel. But the form of the window rail is puzzling, since all the upstairs rooms at rue Carcel have, to this very day, window rails like the one in *Vase of Flowers (80)*; the only exception was the studio window, visible in *Gauguin's Family (70)*, which did not have one at all. Should we assume that Gauguin introduced into this still life an element he had seen elsewhere?

Documents and bibliography:

This may be the picture cited in Gauguin's letter to Camille Pissarro of June 1882 (Merlhès 24): 'It's a pity you didn't come a fortnight ago, I'd just finished something fairly complete with which Guillaumin and I were really happy when alas a Danish friend of ours a worthy merchant carried it off to put in his living room in Denmark. Incidentally people abroad are these days making a lot of concessions to our painting and this Dane who was completely hostile left thrilled with his painting and ready to defend the impressionists in his home country' (Since we know neither the name of the Dane, nor the subject of the painting discussed, identification with the present work remains entirely hypothetical; the painting referred to in the letter may have been a landscape).

M. Bodelsen: 'The Wildenstein-Cogniat Catalogue', *The Burlington Magazine*, January 1966, p. 30, list C, no. 8, fig. 43.

A. Kostenevich: *Hidden Treasures Revealed*, New York, 1995, pp. 216-219 (repr.).

Exhibitions:

(?) *7e exposition des artistes indépendants*, Paris, 251 rue Saint-Honoré, 1882, no. 23: *By the Window, Still Life* (unless that painting is *80*).

Copenhagen, Kleis, 1917, no. 28.

Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 54 (according to Bodelsen, the catalogue is incorrect in describing Berthelsen as the owner).

Exhibition among sixty-four works sequestrated by the Soviets at the close of the war, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, 1995 (see Kostenevich, 1995, **D** above).

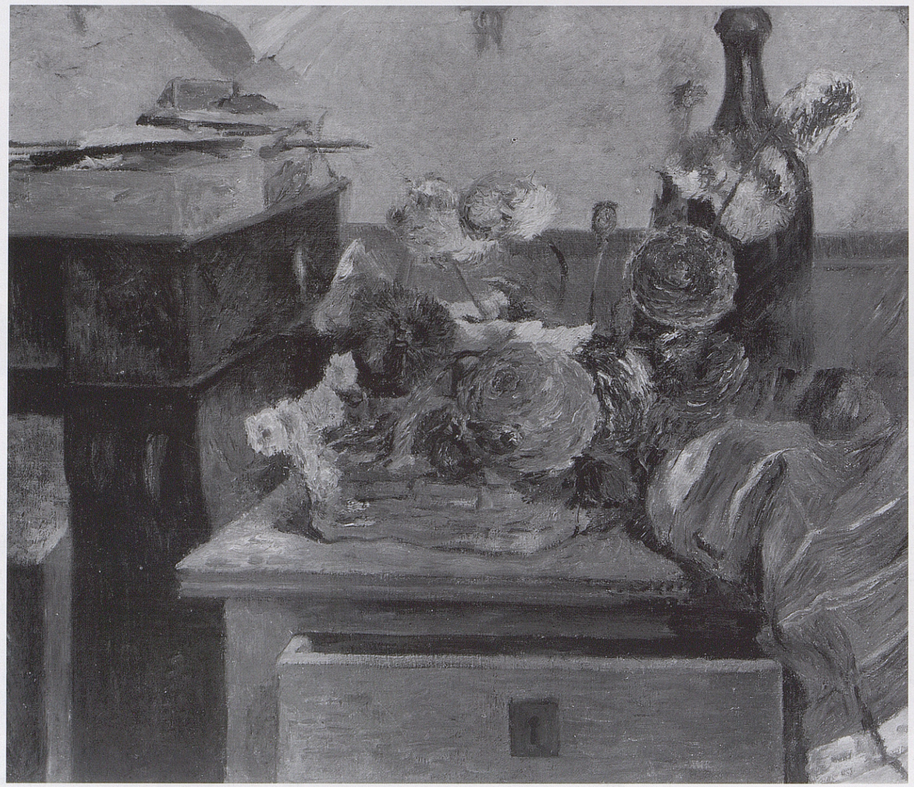
Provenance:

Bjørn Stephensen, Copenhagen: Stephensen had married Marie Heegaard, the model for portrait *1*. Relations between Gauguin and the Stephensens remained friendly until at least 1885 (see entry to her portrait, *1*).

Matthiesen, Berlin, 1927.

Otto Krebs, Holzdorf (Germany).

Carried off to the Soviet Union at the end of World War II and deposited in the special reserves of the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (no. 3KP 641), until the political thaw allowed these reserves to be exhibited in 1995.



93

93
Still Life with Flowers and Bottle

Canvas. 0.46 × 0.57

Although the signature is not visible on photographs of the work, the Bremen catalogue (**D**) states that it is signed lower left *P G*. According to other sources, in particular Bernhardt's book (**D**) on works lost during the war, it is signed *P Go*. Since this signature appeared on Gauguin's ceramics for the first time in the winter of 1886-1887, and on paintings only in 1888 (see *Cottages, 266*, inset), it must in this case be either retrospective or apocryphal.

The painting disappeared during World War II and is known to us only through a black and white photograph of mediocre quality. It is therefore not easy to date. But the rather massive composition, and the absence of the light and space effects often found in Gauguin's still lifes after 1884, suggest that it should be located between 1880 and 1883.

There remains the question of where it was painted: in Paris, at the impasse Frémin or at rue Carcel? Or in the countryside, at Pissarro's side, in Pontoise or Osny? There is a slight presumption in favour of rue Carcel, where certain walls displayed a dark wainscoting topped by a wallpaper with widely-distributed motifs somewhat like those here: cf. *Sweet Dreams (75)* and *Interior (76)*.

Nor is it clear at what time of year the work was painted. The Bremen Museum speaks of dahlias (which flower in summer and early autumn) and asters (no doubt lower left) which are autumn flowers. But a fully open poppy head (to the left of the bouquet) is clearly visible, along with an unopened poppy bud (to the left of the bottle), and poppies flower in late spring and early summer.

The hanging on the right fairly closely resembles that of *Jug and Mug (60)* and *Woman Sewing (64)*. This still life was later repeated with some variations to form the left-hand part of *239*.

Documents and bibliography:

Katalog der Gemälde in der Kunsthalle zu Bremen, Bremen, 1925, p. 52, no. 321.

Sonder-Ausgabe Landes-Kriminalblatt, Bremen, 1952, p. 3, no. 13.

M. Bernhard: *Verlorene Werke der Malerei in Deutschland in der Zeit 1936 bis 1954*, Munich, 1965, p. 78, pl. 223.

Exhibitions:

(?) *Leihausstellung […] aus bremischen Privatbesitz*, Bremen, Kunsthalle Bremen, 1909, no. 74 (*Still Life*, collection A. W. Heymel): there is nothing to prove that this picture did indeed belong to the publisher Alfred Walter Heymel, who acquired a large collection of Impressionists in the early years of the century. But Heymel's fluctuating fortunes are thought to have affected the stability of his collection, and it is not impossible that Wolde bought this painting from Heymel around 1910 in order to donate it to the museum, as he certainly did the *Bouquet de Fleurs* by Renoir.

Provenance:

(?) A.W. Heymel: see **E** above.

Georg Wolde, a Bremen banker: donated by him to the Bremen Museum in 1910.

Bremen, Kunsthalle – 1911.3.321.

Deposited, during World War II, at Karnzow Castle in Brandenburg; the dépôt was pillaged by Soviet soldiers and German civilians in 1945, and this picture disappeared.

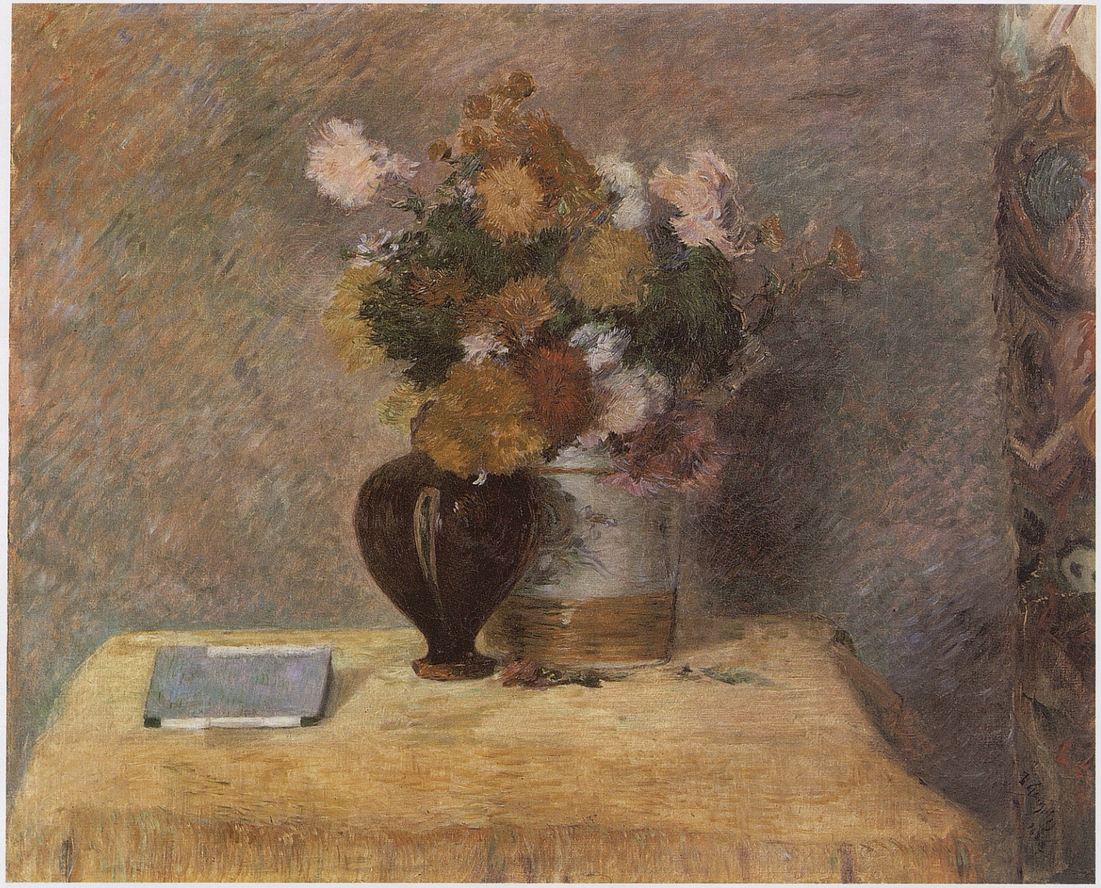
94
Flowers in a Basket

Canvas. 0.48 × 0.61

This picture is known to us only in the form of a very inferior black and white reproduction in the catalogue of the Japanese exhibition of 1934. However, since the motif of the fan *W214* is very similar to the one here, and may even have been inspired by this unknown work, it seems plausible to assume Gauguin's hand. It might be a work of the first half of the 1880s. If it is the still life lent by Matsukata to the Prague exhibition of 1923 (**E**), it may be signed.

Basket of flowers and fruit, fan, W214.
Private collection. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

94



95

Documents and bibliography:
The Old Matsukata Collection. Occidental Art [catalogue of the former Matsukata Collection], Kobe, Kobe City Museum, 1990, no. 696 (repr., with dimensions: 48 × 61).

Exhibitions:
Masterpieces of the Matsukata Collection, Osaka, 1922, no. 27 (repr.).
(?) *Art français des XIX^e^ et XX^e^ siècles*, Prague, Manes Gallery, 1923, no. 186 : *Fruit and Flowers*, 61 × 50 [this catalogue gives width before length], signed *P. Gauguin*, property of Kojiro Matsukata.
Collection Matsukata, Tokyo, Museum of Fine Arts, February 1934, no. 25 (repr.).

Provenance:
Kojiro Matsukata, Japan.
Jûgo Bank (The 15 Bank), Tokyo, 1927-1928.
Current whereabouts unknown.

95
Flowers and Japanese Book

Canvas. 0.57 × 0.70
Signed and dated lower right, on the hanging:
p Gauguin / 1882
W78

The flowers might be chrysanthemums, suggesting an autumn date. The table, the hanging and the way in which they are arranged are the same as in *107*, the tablecloth is identical to the one that appears in *92*, and the planter reappears in *108*. All these still lifes were painted at rue Carcel. The book is sewn Japanese-style, according to Lacambre in the catalogue of the *Japonisme* exhibition (D). It is the first oriental item from Gauguin's domestic environment to appear in a painting. Its appearance is not remotely surprising; such objects were available in many shops, and

Printed Matter

Printed matter – newspapers, scores and books – not infrequently appears in the work of Gauguin's early years as a painter (cf. *Bouquet, 34, Flowers, 36, Still Life, 42, Vase, 80, Flowers, 96, Lilac, 168,* and *Two Vases, 170*). He was then still a stockbroker, a 'bourgeois', and the printed matter adds a cultural note to the still lifes in which it figures.
As Gauguin became increasingly professional, it appears less and less. It is as if literary culture were too worldly; it is replaced by *objets d'art*, such as ceramics, prints and sculptures (see *Peonies, 145*).
Gauguin could, however, still find room for printed objects bearing a particular significance. This might be aesthetic, as here, with the Japanese book, and in the *Still Life with Horse's Head (216)*, or it might be philosophic-spiritual, as in the much later *Portrait of Meijer de Haan (W317)*. In general, however, the greater the role played by reading in Gauguin's personal development, the fewer the literary artefacts he seems to have depicted.

even in the specialist departments of large stores. (Zola's *Au Bonheur des dames*, which appeared in 1883, mentions the recent creation within the department store of a department for books from the Far East.)
It might well be a book of images rather than text. It might even be the first evidence of Gauguin's interest in Japanese graphic art, of which he was later to speak so highly (see *Still Life with Japanese Print, 260*, inset.)
At all events, it seems that the uncluttered arrangement and simple outlines of this composition reflect the influence of certain Japanese effects, an influence also visible in Monet's works of 1882. In Berger's view (see *Wrestlers, 298*, inset), Gauguin's experiments belong to 'first-wave' Japonisme, which centred on notions of space and composition. This rather suggests that the 'printed matter' appears here not simply as a component of a still-life, but as the vehicle of a discreet and tentative aesthetic manifesto (see inset on printed matter).

Documents and bibliography:
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 228: 'Falbe flowers given'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 78 (repr.).
G. Lacambre: 'Sources du japonisme au XIX^e^ siècle', catalogue of the exhibition *Le Japonisme* (Paris and Tokyo, 1988), pp. 28 (repr.), 318.

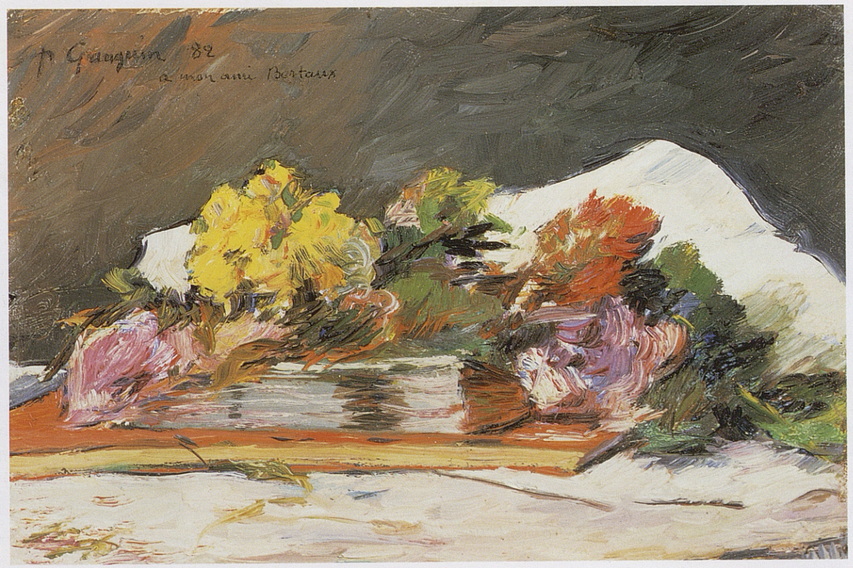
Exhibitions:
Fransk Malerkunst, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, 1914, no. 100.
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 5.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 10.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 15.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 16.

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to Oscar Falbe, Secretary to the Danish Consulate in Paris, who served as witness at the church wedding of Paul and Mette Gauguin, 22 November 1873.
Bought from Falbe by Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, in 1912; deposited in 1922 with **Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – SMK 3147.**

96
Flowers and Books

Oil on wood. 0.125 × 0.185
Signed, dated and dedicated upper left:
p Gauguin 82 / a mon ami Bertaux
W77

Gauguin met the person to whom this work was dedicated in the stock market milieu: Émile Armand Bertaux worked as cashier in the outside brokerage of Lafuite at 32 avenue de l'Opéra. Gauguin also knew Lafuite (see *Double Portrait, 110*).
Bertaux, born 24 December 1848, was the same age as Gauguin, but somewhat bet-



96

ter off. He lived in the fashionable districts of Paris. Merlhès (**D**) tells us that, in October 1883, Bertaux moved from rue Bourdaloue, near Notre-Dame de Lorette, to rue de Constantinople in the quartier de l'Europe (where he is recorded in the cadastral survey as resident at no. 19 between 1884 and 1887). He adds that, in 1884, Bertaux married the daughter of a diamond-merchant, a Miss Lhuillier ten years younger than himself, whom he quickly divorced.

Bertaux had a real if limited taste for modern art and was for a time one of Gauguin's most prized friends. Gauguin was at this stage caught between the artistic and the stockbroking milieux, and was actively seeking amateurs of Impressionism among the wealthy. In 1882, Bertaux bought two Pontoise landscapes (see *Chou Quarry, 88*, **D**) and was given this little panel. Between then and 1885, his name constantly recurs in Gauguin's letters; the artist overcame the cashier's resistance and convinced him to buy works by Guillaumin and Pissarro. Under this impulsion, Bertaux became the centre of a little circle of pro-Impressionists, in which Gauguin urged Pissarro to move[1]. The two men must have been close friends since Bertaux continued to visit Gauguin when he left Paris for Rouen, and, according to Merlhès, even took part in certain secret activities that Gauguin undertook on behalf of the Spanish republicans (see *Mulatress, 158*)[2]. The last letter in which Bertaux appears dates from Gauguin's disastrous Copenhagen period: 'Bertaux! It's his fault I'm in this mess, I'd never have taken ship if he hadn't promised to support me for a year, and then he broke his promise and fobbed me off with excuses about the crisis'[3].

In addition to the two Pontoise landscapes and this sketch, Bertaux owned at least two Dieppe landscapes (perhaps *186* and *204*); we know from Gauguin's sketchbook of 1888-1890[4] that these were gifts, no doubt made in payment of a debt. Bertaux seems to have sold most of these works to Vollard towards the turn of the century.

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 1883 and 1884 (Merlhès 38, 40, 46, 49).

[2] See Merlhès, 1984, p. 370, note 82 (**D**), and V. Merlhès: *Paul Gauguin and Vincent Van Gogh. 1887-1888. Lettres retrouvées. Sources ignorées*, Taravao, 1989, p. 16.

[3] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 24 May 1885 (Merlhès 78).

[4] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 228.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 77 (repr.).
V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, pp. 370, note 82, 389, note 123, 394, note 134 (on Bertaux, concerning whom Merlhès provides the fullest information in the literature).

Exhibitions:
Probably: Paris, Galerie Dru, 1923, no. 2 (*Still Life, Flowers, 1882*).

Provenance:
Given (almost certainly) to Émile-Armand Bertaux by Gauguin, Paris, 1882.
Chester H. Johnson Galleries, Chicago (Illinois).
Sale, New York, Anderson Gallery, 14 November 1934, no. 9.
Coroni Mundi, New York.
Walter P. Chrysler Jr., New York, c. 1937.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 1 July 1959, no. 22.
Donald Stralem, New York, 1964.
Donald and Jean Stralem Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 8 May 1995, no. 5.

97
Snow, Rue Carcel I

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.50
W75

In early December 1882, some snow fell in the Paris region; a very little on 25 and 26 January 1883, and a great deal during March, especially in the second week of the month.

This view of the garden was taken from one of the windows visible in *70*; either from Gauguin's studio or from one of the first-floor rooms, as in *Vase of Flowers (80)*. Behind the wall that ran along rue Blomet (onto which a little gate gave access), one can see the former Vaugirard gas factory, which stood on what is now the square Saint-Lambert, and, to the right, the pink house at 10 rue Petel, which also appears in *80* (today it is no longer pink but red). The garden is now totally covered by the buildings shown in the photo reproduced opposite *70* (q.v.). Gauguin painted a repeat of this snow effect in *98*.

Documents and bibliography:
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 227: '[sold to] Danish woman Snow [FF] 150'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 75 (repr.)

Exhibitions:
Fransk Malerkunst, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, 1914, no. 101 (under the incorrect title *Breton Landscape*).
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 3.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 7.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 18.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 17.

Provenance:
Sold by Gauguin before 1888 (and perhaps during his stay in Copenhagen) to a Danish woman (see Gauguin's sketchbook, **D** above).
Agnes Lunn, Copenhagen.
Bought from A. Lunn by the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, in 1907.
Deposited in 1922 with:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – SMK 2019.

In the centre, the street façade of 10 rue Petel.

97

Gauguin and the Modern Frame

The white frame that this painting bore in 1884 (see the letter to Pissarro)[1] was the terror of exhibition juries and the emblem of the avant-garde. The reflections and relief of the gold frame perfectly set off the volumes and depths so prized in academic painting, but was less appropriate to the brilliant surfaces of Impressionism, for whose colours white was generally considered the best foil. White frames therefore pervaded the avant-garde exhibitions of the early 1880s, while the gold frame was ostracised by the anti-academic milieux. Vollard tells the story of Degas, who 'invited to dinner with an old friend, got no further than the anteroom, having no sooner crossed the threshold than he spotted one of his paintings in a gold frame. He unhooked it, took a two-sous piece to the nails holding the canvas to the frame, popped it under his arm and left'[2].

White ■ We do not know when Gauguin began using the Impressionist frame. At all events, in 1882, at the seventh Impressionist exhibition, the critic Hepp describes him as exhibiting 'oil-painted hieroglyphs, in white frames'[3]. Had Gauguin helped to spread this practice at the 1879 and 1880 exhibitions? Possibly. But when Van Gogh, a few years later, wrote to his brother, asking 'Did you know that Gauguin was pretty much the inventor of the white frame?', he was deceived[4]. Boast as Gauguin might, the first white frames had appeared in 1877 when he had not yet entered Pissarro's sphere of influence. Having systematically adopted white frames for the works in his own collection (they can be seen in the background of the still lifes *145* and *169*), Gauguin long remained faithful to them, and seems to have finally given them up only in November 1893 when he suspected them of playing a part in the failure of his exhibition at the Durand-Ruel gallery[5].

By that time, the shock value of the white frame had dissipated; it was more or less *de rigueur* for exhibitions that aspired to modernity, from the Volpini exhibition to the Indépendants; no one was any longer surprised to find 'the radiant Impressionist paintings, decorated with white frames, in the handsome apartments of today'[6]. People were also becoming more familiar with the disadvantages of white, 'pure' white being sometimes in danger of 'killing' the painting with its unyielding brightness. Thus Denis noted that though such frames 'bring out the lighter colours' and 'are tolerated around big canvases painted with wax or distemper', they are nonetheless 'implacable insulators […] and you know how obtrusive they are in subdued light'[7]. There were those who found a certain poverty in this excessively simplified presentation of paintings. Other solutions were therefore sought (see in particular, *Portrait of Aline, 155,* inset).

Wood and other variants ■ Even the adepts of the white frame soon began to look for alternatives. We know nothing about the 'unprecedented frame-model' that Gauguin, in a letter written shortly after the 1882 exhibition[8], mentions having had specially made for him. But we may reasonably suppose that the innovations in material and form that were proposed during the 1880s met with Gauguin's approval. In 1887, Fénéon remarked that 'we are seeing a gradual eclipse of the completely flat white frame. This summer's fashion for neo-impressionists is a broad oak frame with a strip of white a few centimetres wide around the inside'[9]. At Boussod's gallery, the same mixture prevailed: 'white and natural wood', as Theo van Gogh described it[10]. Noting that the artist Dubois-Pillet had returned to the astragal, Fénéon went on to urge painters to experiment; it was, he thought, 'more equitable to circumscribe a landscape with an oval or a circle'[11].
Wood, too, was back in favour. In 1888, Van Gogh had frames made in walnut, chestnut, oak and pine[12]. In 1891, one of Gauguin's Breton landscapes was framed in oak[13]. Gauguin and Vincent van Gogh developed 'a frame made of beading nailed to the stretcher and painted'; Van Gogh felt that 'It [looked] very good since this frame does not project and makes a single unit with the frame[14]'. This was quite a radical style since a sketch in the same letter shows the mouldings overlapping at right angles without any attempt at bevelled joints.

Colour ■ This design presumably needed painting, and it was certainly Van Gogh's intention that the frames should be coloured. For a long time he had been asking Theo to supply coloured borders for his own work; he gave precise indications, and the colours requested were often very bright. For *Human Misery (317)*, Gauguin himself desired 'a very simple flat frame in wood stained dark like ebony tables, with the side touching the picture in chrome yellow distemper'[15].
None of Gauguin's previous experiments with coloured frames are known to us; we know only that he had made some. In 1888, Fénéon, commenting on the very elaborate stippled borders of neo-Impressionist frames, alluded to 'Gauguin and Mary Cassatt's less systematic efforts of long ago'[16]. Now Cassat's first experiments, involving simple frames and bright colours, had taken place in 1879 and were contemporary with Pissarro's efforts. Pissarro is said to have shown parti-coloured, almost gaudy frames, while Degas at that time used 'colours such as one uses to paint garden chairs'[17], in particular a dull green which can still be seen framing certain of his works. Thus Fénéon seems to imply that, in the early 1880s, Gauguin also used the coloured frame, that second warhorse of the avant-garde. At first fairly simple, the coloured frame evolved, under the aegis of Seurat and others, toward more refined forms that first emphasised and later extended the motifs of the painting.
The period that created the white and the coloured frame was a period of theory (the role of Chevreuil's writings in this respect is widely acknowledged). But the art of framing is little more than *ad hoc* subtlety, and these first formulae were developed and enriched during the second half of the 1880s. Even the taboo against gold was soon infringed; among the offenders was, indeed, Gauguin, who added a thin gold strip to the white frames in which his collection was kept. Pissarro, too, in 1887 wanted a mixture of white, natural oak and a gold moulding. Angrand went back to matt gold frames the very same year[18]. For the most part, however, the Impressionists still thought the traditional golden frame unsuited to their work, and would probably have been indignant to see that, in the 20th century, the greater the weight in gold of their works, the greater the weight of gilt lavished on their frames[19]. While this programme of collective research into frames was under way, Gauguin also made some experiments of a very different kind, in three dimensions, notably the 1884 *Portrait of Aline* (see *155,* inset).

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, end of July 1884 (Merlhès 50, **D**).
[2] A. Vollard: *Degas,* Paris, 1924, pp. 73-74.
[3] A. Hepp: 'Impressionnisme', *Le Voltaire,* 3 March 1882, p. 1.
[4] Vincent to Theo Van Gogh, 12 November 1888 (561).
[5] Catalogue of the exhibition at the Grand Palais, Paris, 1989, pp. 66, and 301, note 2.
[6] C. Saunier: 'Exposition des peintres impressionnistes et symbolistes', *La Plume,* 15 January 1892, p. 52.
[7] P. Louis [pseudonym of Maurice Denis]: 'Notes sur l'exposition des Indépendants', *La Revue blanche,* April 1892, p. 233.
[8] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 9 November 1882 (Merlhès 29).
[9] F. Fénéon: 'Le Néo-impressionnisme', *L'Art moderne,* 1 May 1887, p. 139.
[10] Theo Van Gogh to Gauguin, 13 November 1888 (Merlhès XCIII).
[11] F. Fénéon, 1887, p. 139.
[12] Vincent to Theo Van Gogh, 8, 9 and 13 October 1888 (531, 547, 548 and 554).
[13] J. Loize: *Les Amitiés du peintre Georges-Daniel de Monfreid…,* 1951, no. 123.
[14] Vincent to Theo Van Gogh, c. 12 November 1888 (561).
[15] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 22 December 1888 (Merlhès 193).
[16] F. Fénéon: 'Le Néo-impressionnisme à la IVe exposition des artistes indépendants', *L'Art moderne* (Brussels), 15 April 1888, p. 122.
[17] A. Vollard: *Degas,* Paris, 1924, pp. 73-74.
[18] F. Fénéon, 1887.
[19] For a review of the transformations undergone by the frame in the late 19th century, see the excellent catalogue of the exhibition *In Perfect Harmony,* Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Vincent Van Gogh, 1995.

Rue de Pontoise today.

C. Pissarro: *Street in Osny* (Pissarro-Venturi 581).
Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

99

99
Osny, Rue de Pontoise, Winter

Oil on mahogany panel. 0.350 × 0.265
Signed and dated, with location, lower left: *Osny – / p Gauguin 83*
W84

This painting shows the rue de Pontoise where it leaves Osny in the Pontoise direction; it is seen from the crossroads with what is now the rue Pasteur. The view is little changed today, since the street is still flanked on the north by the grounds of the château de Busagny (visible to the left) and to the south by a row of houses, some of which have survived. The site was identified by Reidemeister[1].
Pissarro had just left Pontoise for Osny, and Gauguin wrote to him on 8 December 1882: 'This winter I shall come and see your new set-up; Madame Pissarro told me you had plenty of room, in which case I shall set off one Saturday evening in order to have a whole Sunday to myself to make a winter sketch'[2]. Gauguin was as good as his word; Pissarro told his son Lucien on 15 March 1883: 'Gauguin came to spend last Sunday with us, he made two sketches'[3].
Since we know that snow fell on 6-15 March in the Paris region, there can be no doubt that this painting, in which a little layer of snow underlines the pavement and the low wall to the right, was executed on 11 March 1883.
The fate of the day's second study is unknown. Since we know nothing about its

Osny (1883): Variations on Pissarro Motifs

Pissarro moved to Osny in December 1882. His new house was large enough to accommodate guests and, in 1883, Gauguin's days off were spent staying with Pissarro and working alongside his master.
We have some record of two stays; apart from the weekend in March, during which *99* was painted, Gauguin spent three weeks there between 15 June and 5 July. We know from correspondence arising that Gauguin chose to spend all his holidays working alongside Pissarro that year[1]. There are seven summer paintings from Osny. If they were all produced during one three-week stay, they would testify to a remarkable work-rate on Gauguin's part. Do some of them, perhaps, date from an unrecorded visit?

At all events, during this period Gauguin systematically chose to tackle the same subjects as his master, as he had already done in 1881-1882, in *Garden (82)* and *Chou Quarries (85)*. Of the views of Osny, *(99, 101, 102, 103, 104)* almost all seem, like the *Quarries*, to postdate the corresponding works by Pissarro.
Certain of them, such as *Busagny Farm, Osny (101)*, show Pissarro's technique very much to the fore, and demonstrate how well Gauguin had assimilated his master's teachings. Others, by contrast, show Gauguin deliberately eschewing that style and adopting an experimental manner such as we also find in the *Street, Osny (106)*. In these works, spaces are deformed and sometimes sculpted, the surfaces are choppy and disjointed; forms are opaque, and the rather larger brushstrokes reflect the spirit of Cézanne (see introduction to the period 1879-1883). Gauguin clearly felt the need to break free from Pissarro; his variations on Pissarro themes could be pitted against his master's works and probably seemed to Gauguin no less salutary an exercise than the 'repeats' that he painted of his own works (on which, see *Quarries, 86*, inset).

[1] Gauguin, June (Merlhès 37); Pissarro, 16 June, 5 July (Bailly-Herzberg 161, 166); Guillaumin, 30 June 1883 (Merlhès XIX).

motif, and cannot tell whether Gauguin thought it sufficiently achieved to be worth preserving (it must certainly have been done very fast), we have not catalogued it.
Rewald compares this painting with a Pissarro work of identical motif[4]. Pissarro-Venturi 581 is dated 1883 and is a winter scene, as the state of the vegetation proves. A question therefore arises whether the two artists were working side by side. However, there is no snow in the Pissarro picture and the viewpoint is exactly the same, which suggests that they set up their easels on the same spot successively rather than simultaneously. It should be noted that Pissarro also made a crayon drawing of this motif, in which the trees are in leaf and the landscape is bathed in sunshine[5]. Concerning Pissarro motifs taken up by Gauguin, see inset.

[1] L. Reidemeister, 1963 (**D**).
[2] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 8 December 1882 (Merlhès 30, **D**).
[3] Camille to Lucien Pissarro, 15 March 1883 (Bailly-Herzberg 125, **D**).
[4] Rewald, 1938 (**D**).
[5] Sale, New York, Christie's, 11 May 1994, no. 131.

Documents and bibliography:

Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 8 December 1882 (Merlhès 30), above.
Camille to Lucien Pissarro, 15 March 1883, above.
C.H.[Hartmann]: 'Den Frie Udstilling', *Nationaltidende*, 28 March 1893, p. 1.
W. George: 'The Georg Brandes Collection', *Formes*, no. 31 [1933], p. 357, 'another Impressionist Gauguin, rather small'. The collection handed for sale to the galerie Zak by the Brandes family c. 1933 was probably that of Edvard Brandes (see **E** below), who died in 1931. Waldemar George seems to have confused Edvard with his equally famous brother, the literary critic Georg Brandes (1842-1927).
J. Rewald: 'Camille Pissarro, His Work and Influence', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1938, p. 289 (repr. with the Pissarro painting).
L. Reidemeister: *Auf den Spuren der Maler der Ile-de-France*, Berlin, 1963, p. 77 (with a recent photograph of the motif).
Wildenstein, 1964, probably no. 83 (*View of Passy* exhibited in 1893) and in any case no. 84 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin, The Collector', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, pp. 603-605 (on Brandes and his collection), 615, no. 1.

Exhibitions:

Probably: *Den Frie Udstilling*, Copenhagen, Free Exhibitions Building, 1893, no. 123 (*At Passy*. 1883 – 0.34 × 0.235, Dr E. Brandes Collection).
Tableaux de Gauguin, Pissarro, Sisley, Forain etc. provenant d'une collection privée [*from a private collection*, i.e. the Brandes collection], Paris, galerie Zak, February 1933 (a Zak photo of this work proves that it formerly belonged to this gallery).
Gauguin og van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenburg, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 11 (not exhibited).

Provenance:

Edvard Brandes, Copenhagen, c. 1893. Brandes (1847-1931) was a critic, journalist, man of the theatre and later politician. In 1887, Mette Gauguin's sister, Ingeborg Thaulow (born Gad), became his second wife (see *44*, inset). Mette was an old acquaintance of Brandes', and he no doubt met Gauguin through Ingeborg during Gauguin's stay in Copenhagen in 1885; one of Gauguin's sketchbooks mentions the direct purchase of certain works by the Brandes family (see *Flowers, 170*, and the portrait of an unknown person, *166*). But it was mainly after his marriage to Ingeborg that Brandes built up an important collection, Mette having ceded ownership of a large number of works – from Gauguin's Impressionist collection and by Gauguin himself – in exchange for Brandes' financial assistance. The terms of the transfer were subsequently disputed (see *Portrait of Ingeborg, 44*, inset). At all events, Brandes subsequently refused to part with these works, and exhibited them very rarely. Waldemar George is almost certainly mistaken in attributing this collection to Georg Brandes (see article, 1937, **D** above).
Galerie Zak, Paris, c. 1933.
Bought by Édouard Herriot (French Prime Minister 1924-1925); it remained in his family till the 1990s.
On the Paris art market, c. 2000.

100

100
Stream, Osny

Canvas. 0.545 × 0.650
Signed and dated lower right:
été [?]/*p Gauguin 1883* [the information as to season – *summer* – is unusual in itself, and may not have been correctly deciphered]
W89

Documents and bibliography:

(?) J. Ajalbert: 'Le Salon des Impressionnistes', *La Revue moderne*, 20 June 1886, p. 389: '*The Willows*, with its verdant meadow punctuated by the red crests of the turkeys, should be seen'.
(?) Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe 1952), p. 225: '[sold to] Clapisson Turkeys [FF] 250', though this title could equally refer to *283* (see entry for that work, where the question of this identification is addressed).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 89 (repr.).
V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, pp. 422, 423 (repr.): suggests that this work be identified with no. 46 of the 1886 exhibition.

Exhibitions:

(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte 1886, no. 46 (*Willows*): the other paintings that Gauguin chose for this exhibition were more recent and dated from 1884-1885. But Ajalbert's review cited above certifies the presence of turkeys in this *Willows*, and no other work matches this description.
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Art Museum, 1987, no. 3.

Provenance:

(?) Bought from Gauguin by Léon-Marie Clapisson, Paris, c. 1888: see Gauguin's sketchbook, **D** above.
Bought from Leclanché by Bernheim-Jeune (in the same lot as *Farm, 101*): *Landscape with Turkeys*, no. 18213.
Sold to Léon Marseille, 7 December 1917.
Léon Pédron Sale, Paris, Drouot, 2 June 1926, no. 24 (to Pellequer).
Raoul Pellequer, Paris.
Félix Gouin, Paris.
Hugo Dixon, Memphis.
The Dixon Gallery and Gardens, Memphis (Tennessee), 1965-1979.
Private collection, Japan.

101
Busagny Farm, Osny

Canvas. 0.645 × 0.540
Signed and dated lower right:
1883 / p Gauguin
W86

101

Gauguin's motif no longer exists. Nothing remains of Busagny farm; the sluice-gate, on a little arm of the Viosne invisible in the picture, has disappeared, and the William-Thornley roundabout now stands on the grass-covered land in the foreground[1].
The farm was in the grounds of the château de Busagny, not far from the start of the Ennery road. It stood at precisely the point where the Viosne is now bridged by the rue Pasteur, at the south-east exit of the roundabout. The course of the Viosne has since been slightly altered and its bed widened.
Pissarro had painted the farm towards the end of the winter from a very similar point of view, though in his painting (Pissarro-Venturi 588) the course of the Viosne is visible. Following a procedure he several times adopted that year (see *Rue de Pontoise, 99*, inset), Gauguin took up a motif painted by his master, here handling it in Pissarro's manner.

[1] We should like to thank Monsieur Christian Thomas and the *mairie* of Osny for making the identification and conveying it to us along with the old postcard reproduced here.

C. Pissarro: *Stream at Osny* (Pissarro-Venturi 588). Private collection. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

View of Ennery road with Busagny farm in the centre, old postcard.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 86 (repr.).

Provenance:
Bought with a 'Leclanché lot' by Bernheim-Jeune (with *Stream, Osny, 100*): no. 18212.
Sold to P. Robert, 13 October 1917.
Baron Hauzeur.
Vicomtesse du Plessis-Hauzeur, Brussels.
Thomas D. Neelands Jr., New York.
Sale [Neelands], New York, Parke-Bernet, 26 April 1972, no. 13.
Sale [Howard Garfinkly], New York, Parke-Bernet, 3-4 May 1973, no. 63.
Sale, Geneva, Motte, 6 March 1975, no. 254 (to an Italian buyer).
Sale of Marquis Pica-Alfieri (Lugano), London, Sotheby's, 8 December 1997, no. 8.
Sale of Marquis Pica-Alfieri, New York, Sotheby's, 17-18 November 1998, no. 253.
Bought in 1999 by:
Providence (Rhode Island), Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Helen M. Danforth Acquisition Fund – 1999.3.

102
Osny, Stormy Weather

Canvas. 0.755 × 1.010
Signed lower left: *p Gauguin*
W87 and W374

This painting shows the then rue Pontoise as it enters Osny; it is now rue Aristide-Briand at this point. Identified by Reidemeister[1], who first published a photograph of it, the site is a hundred metres west of that of *99* in which Gauguin was looking the other way down the rue Pontoise. To the left, one can see the entrance to today's rue des Chênes, now paved and somewhat less steep.
That year Pissarro painted two pictures from this point of view. One of these is centred around the path on the left (Pissarro-Venturi 585 which must have been executed in early spring and formed part of Gauguin's own collection); the other takes as its axis the rue de Pontoise in which Osny church is visi-

C. Pissarro: *Rising Path, Osny* (Pissarro-Venturi 585). Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

C. Pissarro: *Main Street, Osny Village* (Pissarro-Venturi 582). Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

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Rue Aristide-Briant, with rue des Chênes on the left.

Old postcard of the motif.

ble on the right (Pissarro-Venturi 582). On Pissarro motifs taken up by Gauguin, see *Osny, Rue de Pontoise (99)*, inset.
The road verges on the pink, a colour much favoured as a soil-colour in later Gauguin works.
Fonsmark notes that this landscape covers an unfinished portrait visible under infrared or X-ray examination, but does not state whether the portrait is of man, woman or child[2].
Though the contrary is often stated, no date follows the signature.

[1] Reidemeister, 1963 (D).
[2] See the essay by Brigitte Fonsmark in the catalogue to *Manet, Gauguin, Rodin…Chefs d'œuvre de la Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek de Copenhague*, Paris, Musée d'Orsay, 1995, no. 24.

Documents and bibliography:

J. Jörgensen, [review of the Kunstforeningen exhibition in] *Københavns Børs-Tidende*, 15 November 1889. According to Bodelsen (1970, below), the review is probably by the poet J. Jörgensen, and describes this painting.
Pastel: 'Paa den fri Udstilling', *Dannebrog*, 26 March 1893, p. 2.
J. Jörgensen: 'Foraars – Unstillingerne. Gauguin og van Gogh', *Politiken*, 16 April 1893, p. 1: 'Standing before this picture, one feels as though all things are at end, so deserted and poor is this little village street in the dusk – so absurdly does the street tail off near those old houses where no one lives – and above them, the menacing sky is heavy with the dark melancholy of the clouds' [Danish original].
H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin et le Danemark', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956, published 1958, pp. 64, 71 (repr.), 81.
L. Reidemeister: *Auf den Spuren der Maler der Île-de-France*, Berlin, 1963, p. 79 (repr. and photo of the motif).
Wildenstein 1964, no. 87 (repr.) and 374 (*Éragny-sur-Epte* exhibited in 1893).
M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin, The Collector', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, p. 602.

Exhibitions:

Exhibition of French and Scandinavian Impressionists, Copenhagen, Kunstforeningen, 1889 (no catalogue known): see 1889 review, D above.
Den Frie Udstilling, Copenhagen, Free Exhibitions Building, 1893, no. 155, under the incorrect title *Éragny-sur-Epte* (the Jörgensen review, D above, makes the identification possible).
Copenhagen, Kleis, 1917, no. 14.
Oslo, Stockholm, Copenhagen, 1926, no. 8.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 23.
Gauguin og van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 12 (not exhibited).
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 18.

Provenance:

Bought during the 1889 exhibition from Mette Gauguin by the Danish painter, ceramicist, sculptor and engraver Niels Skovgaard (born 1858), Copenhagen.
Helge Jacobsen, Copenhagen, c. 1917.
Donated by Helge Jacobsen in 1927 to:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – I.N.1824

103
La Groue Farm, Osny

Canvas. 0.38 × 0.46
Signed and dated lower right:
83 / p. Gauguin
W85

Situated north of Osny and looking over the River Viosne (here visible in the foreground), the *ferme de la Groue*, also known as *ferme du Friche*, dated from the 17th century and belonged to the château de Grouchy. This handsome group of buildings, centred around a square courtyard, included a dovecote, whose roof projects over the others in the picture. Almost all of it was demolished in the 1940s, and only a few buildings have survived; they are accessible from the rue de la Friche[1].
Pissarro had already painted the farm in late winter from a very similar viewpoint (Pissarro-Venturi 583). On Pissarro motifs taken up by Gauguin, see *Osny, Rue de Pontoise (99)*, inset. Here, the simplified volumes and surface sculpted by long, angled strokes reflect Gauguin's interest in Cézanne's technique rather than Pissarro's counsel.

[1] For the identification of this motif, and the reproduction of the old postcard published here, we are indebted to Monsieur Christian Thomas.

Documents and bibliography:

Wildenstein, 1964, no. 85 (repr.).

Provenance:

Bought from Mme Devos by Bernheim-Jeune on 9 July 1910 (no. 18228).
Sold to Gasquet, 11 July 1910.
Denise Boas, Paris.
Sale, Paris, Charpentier, 15-16 December 1958, no. 160.
[Boas] Sale, Paris, Galliera, 3 December 1964, no. 33.
Captain H.E. Rimington-Wilson, Sheffield.
Sale, Captain Rimington-Wilson (deceased), London, Christie's, 30 November 1971, no. 18 (to Mason).
The Honorable Richard Smith sale, London, Christie's, 4 April 1978, no. 8 (to S.M. Golesteneh, London).
Sale, London, Christie's, 23 June 1986, no. 11.
Private collection, Great Britain.

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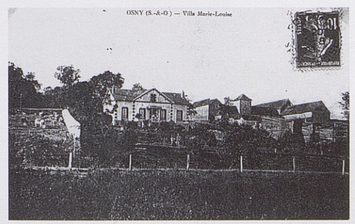

To the right, La Groue farm, old postcard.

What remains of the farm today.

C. Pissarro: *Farm at Osny* (Pissarro-Venturi 583). Private collection.
Photo: Durand-Ruel.

104

105

104
Farm, Washhouse, Osny

Canvas. 0.73 × 0.54
Signed and dated lower right:
p Gauguin 1883

Pissarro painted this motif from the same viewpoint but his study, a snow effect dated 1884 (Pissarro-Venturi 622), was in this particular instance subsequent to Gauguin's (see *Osny, Rue de Pontoise, 99*, inset).
Since Pissarro had no particular reason to tackle Gauguin's motifs, it is feasible that the two pictures both show the view from one of the windows of the Pissarro residence onto neighbouring houses (we know that Gauguin stayed with Pissarro when he came to Osny)[1].
This is pure speculation but would explain why both painters chose so unspectacular a subject.

[1] See Gauguin's letter to Camille Pissarro of 8 December 1882 (Merlhès 30).

Documents and bibliography:
'Sidste Nyt', *Dannebrog*, 27 March 1893, p. 3: the article tells us that the painting had been sold.
H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin et le Danemark', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956 (published 1958), p. 80.

C. Pissarro: *Snow Effect* (Pissarro-Venturi 622).
Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

Exhibitions:
Martsudstillingen, Copenhagen, Kleis, 1893, no. 137.
Copenhagen, Kleis, 1917, no. 35.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 10.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Sold by Mette to Oscar Wandel, Copenhagen, during the 1893 exhibition.
O. Wandel Sale, Charlottenburg, Sagforernes Auktioner, 16 February 1926, no. 100.
Private collection, USA, c. 1979.
Sale, New York, Christie's, 11 November 1997, no. 118.
Collection Monsieur and Madame Robert Buisson, c. 1998.

105
Poplar-Lined Lane, Osny

Canvas. 0.73 × 0.54
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin / 1883
W88

The haystacks and tall grass bordering this sunken lane are a record of Gauguin's stay *chez* Pissarro of June-July 1883.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 88 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Kleis, 1917, no. 13.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 19.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 19.

Provenance:
Helge Jacobsen, Copenhagen, c. 1917.
Donated by Helge Jacobsen in 1938 to:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – I.N. 1963.

106
Street, Osny

Canvas. 0.595 × 0.730
W121

Reidemeister (**D**) identified this motif as the rue Pasteur – it must in fact be the Ennery road, which is the continuation of the rue Pasteur – and published a recent photo of it.
This study shows Gauguin again experimenting with an unstable picture surface (see the 1876 painting, *China Asters, 37*, inset). Indeed, the unnatural perspective and broad, choppy fragmentation no doubt reflect Gauguin's interest in Cézanne's work. These characteristics are at odds with the teaching of Pissarro and can be found in other works of the same stay (for example, *La Groue Farm, Osny, 103* and *Poplar-Lined Lane, Osny, 105*).

The site in recent times (from Reidemeister, 1963).

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Documents and bibliography:
This work belonged to Jean-Baptiste Faure. In Gauguin's sketchbook c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 227, we find: '[sold to] Faure/ figures/ landscapes (two) [FF] 100'. Does it relate to this painting? Tradition has it that J.-B. Faure bought this work from Pissarro. Moreover, it seems unlikely that Gauguin would have sold work so cheaply to so famous a collector. It is therefore possible that the 'Faure' of the sketchbook is not the famous baritone.
Durand-Ruel to John T. Spaulding, 1 April 1921 (Durand-Ruel archives): 'The painting by Gauguin which we sold to you recently was painted by the artist at Éragny-sur-Epte at Pissarro's place, and given by the artist to Pissarro./ Pissarro sold that picture some years later with some of his own to Mr. Faure, the celebrated opera singer […] After the death of Mr. Faure, we purchased from his estate his collection of modern paintings, among which was your Gauguin'.
L. Reidemeister: *Auf den Spuren der Maler der Île-de-France*, Berlin, 1963, p. 82 (repr.), with a photo of the motif.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 121.

Exhibitions:
Gauguin and Cézanne, London, Stafford Gallery, 1911, no. 14.
Houston (Texas), The Museum of Fine Arts, 1954, no. 4.
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 13.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 11.
Vienna, Belvedere, 1960, no. 2.
Wegbereiter der modernen Malerei, Cézanne, Gauguin, Van Gogh, Seurat, Hamburg, Kunstverein, 1963, no. 38.

Provenance:
According to Durand-Ruel, given by Gauguin to Pissarro and bought from Pissarro by the famous baritone-collector J.-B. Faure, Paris: see Durand-Ruel letter, **D** above.
Sold by Mme Faure to Petit and Durand-Ruel, 11 February 1919 (Durand-Ruel deposit nos. 11900 and 12311).
Sold by Durand-Ruel to John T. Spaulding, Boston, 1921.
Bequeathed by John T. Spaulding in 1948 to: **Boston (Massachusetts), Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Bequest of John T. Spaulding – 48.545.**

107
Tomatoes and Pewter Jug

Canvas. 0.600 × 0.735
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 83
W90

The hanging on the right is the same as the one in *Flowers and Japanese Book (95)*. The subjects of these two still lifes were clearly laid out in the same place, no doubt (given the date) at rue Carcel, since we recognise one of the domestic objects belonging to the Gauguin family: the pewter jug first painted by Gauguin some years previously in *Jug and Mug (60)*. This still life clearly owes something to the influence of Cézanne; it presumably dates from summer, being the tomato season.

Documents and bibliography:
'Kritik og Program', *Dannebrog*, 5 April 1893, p. 2.
H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin et le Danemark', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956 (published 1958), p. 80.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 90 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Den frie Udstilling, Copenhagen, Free Exhibitions Building, 1893, no. 124.
Copenhagen, Kleis, 1917, no. 9.
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 39.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 12.
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 3.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 20.
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, and London, Tate Gallery, 1955, no. 7.
Gauguin og hans Venner, Copenhagen, Winkel & Magnussen, 1956, no. 67.
Gauguin og Van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 14 (not exhibited).

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Bought from her by the critic Emil Hannover, Copenhagen, during the 1893 exhibition.
Karen Hannover, Copenhagen, c. 1926.
A. Marcus-Moller, Copenhagen or Stockholm, c. 1948.
Werner Abegg, Zurich, 1956.
Mrs Richard Bernhard, New York, 1959.
Robert Bernhard, New York.
Private collection.

108
Dahlias and Mandolin

Canvas. 0.475 × 0.570
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin / 1883
W91

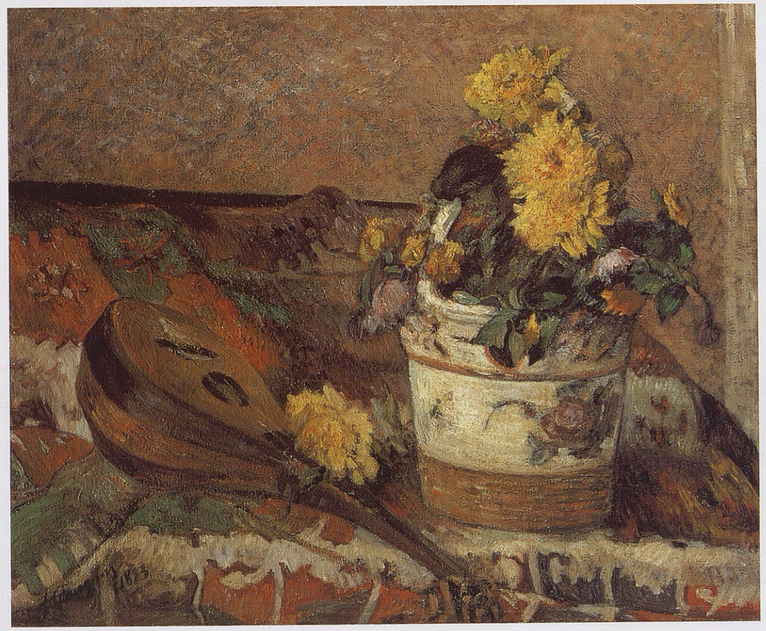
Dating from the summer or autumn, as the presence of dahlias indicates[1], this work was certainly painted at rue Carcel since all the objects that it contains formed part of that setting; the planter had already appeared in *Flowers and Japanese Book (95)* and the mandolin in *On a Chair (63)* and *Woman Sewing (64)*. See also *Peonies and Mandolin (169)* and above all the fan *W180*, in which the mandolin is borrowed from this painting.

[1] According to Monsieur Lemattre.

Documents and bibliography:
H. Rostrup, 'Éventails et pastels de Gauguin', *GBA*, September 1960, pp. 161, 163 (repr.).
Wildenstein 1964, no. 91 (repr.) and probably no. 92 (still life exhibited in 1893).

Exhibitions:
This picture long remained in Denmark, and may be the Gauguin work exhibited in: *Den Frie Udstilling*, Copenhagen, Free Exhibitions Building, 1893, no. 129: *Still Life*, 0.54 × 0.65, since the dimensions cited in the catalogue of this exhibition are frequently erroneous.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 17.
Gauguin og hans Venner, Copenhagen, Winkel & Magnussen, 1956, no. 68.
Gauguin og van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 15.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Sold/given by her to Benny Dessau, Copenhagen: Mette is said to have been very close to the Dessau family.
Olaf Dessau, Copenhagen.
Mrs Lloyd S. Gilmour, New York.
Mrs L.S. Gilmour sale, New York, Christie's, 13 May 1980, no. 21.
Private collection, New York, 1980.



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109
Portrait of a Woman, probably Ingeborg Thaulow

Canvas. 0.325 × 0.245
Signed and annotated middle right:
souvenir / à [or *d'*] *Ingeborg / p G.*
W41

Identification of the model in this painting remains problematic, and the two possible readings of Gauguin's inscription compound the doubt. Is it a *portrait-souvenir* of Ingeborg Thaulow, Mette Gauguin's sister (see *44*)? Or does this painting show a maid who looked after the Gauguin and Thaulow children?

Justine, Ingeborg, Sina, Stina? ■ Among the descendants of the Norwegian painter Erik Werenskiold, tradition has it that this young woman is Justine[1], the nanny who looked after the Gauguin children and their cousins Nina (b. 1875) and Else (b. 1880) Thaulow. In favour of this information, one of the Thaulow sisters wrote to Bodelsen (D) in April 1961, stating that their mother had given Werenskiold a little painting showing their nurse 'Sina'. Moreover, a catalogue of the Norwegian exhibition of 1946 mentions 'Stina, the Thaulow children's nanny'; it is clear these variants both represent a diminutive of Justine.

F. Thaulow from 1878. Photo: O. Voering.

The Gauguin family did indeed have a nanny called Justine, in all probability the 'model' for *Woman Sewing (64*, q.v.*)*. Now *64* and the present work are clearly not portrayals of the same model. Which, then, is the true Justine? If she appears in this work, the young maidservant in *Woman Sewing* reverts to anonymity despite fairly substantial evidence identifying her as Justine.

If Justine does not appear in this work, who does? A nanny attached to the Thaulow family? Or is it simply the dedicatee, Ingeborg Thaulow herself? Certain points of resemblance suggest this, in particular the bone-structure of the face, with its nutcracker chin and pointed nose (cf. the photos of Ingeborg here and at *44*). Concerning the dedication, which is unclear, the formula 'souvenir à [to] Ingeborg' is notably less graceful than the conventional 'souvenir d'[of] Ingeborg'. Moreover, the elegant costume – a similar dress hat and flounced collar can be seen in Thaulow's 1882 portrait of Ingeborg – is that of a fashionable woman of thirty, not that of a housemaid such as the Gauguins employed; on this point, the photo of the nanny reproduced opposite *Woman Sewing (64)* is decisive. If the painting did show one of the nannies of the Thaulow children, it would show a woman equal in both age and rank to Ingeborg, which is improbable in itself, and who coincidentally bore the same name as the Gauguins' nanny Justine (since that is the name given in the catalogue of the 1955 exhibition).
We do not know when Ingeborg gave the painting to Werenskiold, nor what she then told him. The definitive breakdown of her relations with Gauguin after 1885 may have been a motive for her disposal of the work. The tradition that Justine is represented here seems to have little foundation, and we therefore suggest that the model is Ingeborg.

Quarrels after the return to Paris ■ At all events, it seems likely that the work was executed after December 1882 when Ingeborg and Frits Thaulow again returned to Paris for the winter. Their apartment, at

Ingeborg, c. 1870, detail of photo reproduced on page 26.

136 rue de Villiers[2], naturally became a meeting place for Parisian and Scandinavian artists. Amongst these were Gauguin, the Norwegian artists Christian Skredsvig and Erik Werenskiold (eventual owner of the work), who were living at the same address, and the Swedish Ernst Josephson. All of these men were much more traditional in their artistic tastes than Gauguin.
Frits and Ingeborg Thaulow were already at odds. Ingeborg was very much a city-dweller by taste and had found their long stay in the little provincial town of Kragerö (1881-

F. Thaulow: *Portrait of Ingeborg.*
Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

1882) intolerable. Family tradition has it that she resented being left at home with the family while Frits went out with his friends; perhaps her sense of abandonment was more specifically motivated. Ingeborg herself was not a passive victim, and she had, during a summer cruise in 1881, taken the initiative in a fleeting liaison with the Danish poet Holger Drachmann. It seems likely that this was not her only affair and that Frits too was generous with his affec-

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tions. Nevertheless, persistent efforts at reconciliation were made[3]. During these events, Ingeborg, whose taste for literature seems to have extended to littérateurs, enlisted the sympathies of both the famous Norwegian writer Bjørnson and her future husband Edvard Brandes. Indeed, according to Hvidt (**D**), Ingeborg's private life was one of the immediate sources of the decade-long polemic on free love that exercised Scandinavia as a whole.

Cohabitation ■ The marriage finally broke down in 1883. On 9 February, Gauguin wrote: 'I've had a lot of bother recently. My brother-in-law Thaulow has just got divorced and I've had to attend to all that and am still in the midst of all these wranglings'[4]. Frits left Paris in the spring and Ingeborg came to stay with her sister Mette, bringing her two daughters[5]. And so the Gauguin and Thaulow children came to share the same nanny, no doubt the faithful Justine, at rue Carcel (see *44*, inset). How long the two families lived together we do not know. It seems possible that Ingeborg is Mette's 'boarder' whom Gauguin describes as leaving for Denmark in a letter of August 1883[6]. If this was the case, the portrait can be dated between December 1882 and August 1883; this is compatible with the technique it displays, which places it between 1880 and 1883. Gauguin does not trouble to mention Ingeborg in the letter of 9 February above and the rather unresponsive expression lent to the sitter may (if the model is indeed Ingeborg) reflect Gauguin's view of her. But the dedication would seem to indicate that his relations with his sister-in-law were still, at this juncture, civil enough. Two years later, that had changed (see the entry for *44*).
The little blond head in the lower part of the picture might be that of Clovis Gauguin (b. May 1879) or Elise Thaulow (b. August 1880). The works hung in the background do not resemble any known works by Gauguin; they may be paintings from his collection. The red sofa seems to be the one that appears in the portraits *111* and *112*, and its recurrence suggests that this work was painted at rue Carcel.

[1] See the catalogue of the 1955 exhibition (**E**).
[2] According to the catalogue of the 1883 *Salon*.
[3] Mathisen, ed. 1992 (**D**).
[4] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 9 February 1883 (former Rewald Archives).
[5] Hvidt, 1987, p. 168 (**D**); Bodelsen, 1966, p. 34 (**D**).
[6] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, August 1883 (Merlhès 39).

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 41 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'The Wildenstein-Cogniat Catalogue', *The Burlington Magazine*, January 1966, pp. 34-35.
K. Hvidt: *Edvard Brandes*, Copenhagen, 1987, pp. 167-169 (on the dissolution of the marriage of Frits and Ingeborg Thaulow).
B.A. Mathisen, ed.: *Frits Thaulow*, Oslo, 1992, p. 22 (same).

Exhibitions:
Fransk Utstilling, Oslo, Kunsternes Hus, 1946, no. 29 (*Portrait of Stina, the Thaulow's Nanny*).
Oslo, Kunstnerforbundet, 1955, no. 3: *Portrait of Justine* – with the note: 'The two Gad sisters had the same nanny in Paris'.
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 6.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 12.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 10.

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to his sister-in-law, Ingeborg Thaulow.
Given by the latter (before her death in 1908) to her friend the Norwegian painter Erik Werenskiold (1855-1938).
Jens Erik Werenskiold (grandson of the above), Lysaker (Norway), c. 1955.
Sale [of Werenskiold descendant], London, Sotheby's, 27 June 1989, no. 17.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 8 December 1999, no. 134.

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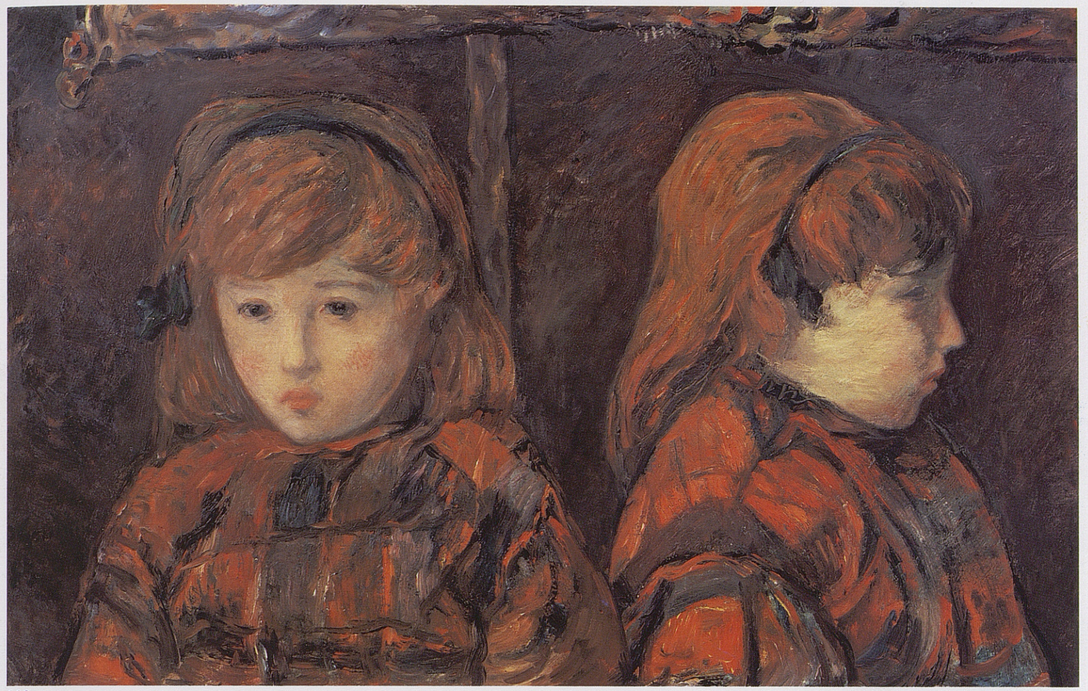
Double Portrait of a Young Girl, probably Mlle Lafuite

Canvas. 0.305 × 0.475
Signed and dated lower left:
P. Gauguin / 83

Bodelsen (**D**) has suggested that this young girl (who, in spite of appearances, had long passed for a *Young Breton Girl*) should be identified with Aline, Gauguin's second child, who was born on 24 December 1877. We do not know on what evidence this identification is based. Aline's appearance in early 1883 is undocumented but she appears in several paintings of 1881 (*Little Girl Playing, 74*; *Gauguin's Family, 70*; *Sweet Dreams, 75*; *Interior with Aline, 77*). Though these are somewhat fleeting visions, they show her tall for her age and invariably close-cropped. She makes further appearances in the *Aline Gauguin and One of Her Brothers (111)* of late 1883 or thereafter, and in a photograph of 1884 (reproduced opposite *111*); her hair is still short and her intense personality clearly evinced. Then, at six and a half, and already quite the young lady, she is depicted in profile in *155*. By then her hair had grown a little.
There is little resemblance between these images and the young girl presented in this picture. She differs from Aline both in the breadth of her forehead (Aline's was narrow), the size of her mouth (Aline's was larger), and in her abundant growth of hair; even if Aline's hair had regrown, she was constantly liable to hair loss, and it is not likely to have reached this length. (On Aline's hair losses, see *111*). Moreover, the 'town' dress is difficult to explain if the model is Aline, who generally wore pinafores around the house (cf. *70, 77,* and *111*). Above all, the personality of the naïve child portrayed here, with her rather bored expression, seems incompatible with Aline. Gauguin would surely have rendered the vibrant personality of his favourite child in more intimate fashion. It should also be noted that Gauguin never asked his children



110

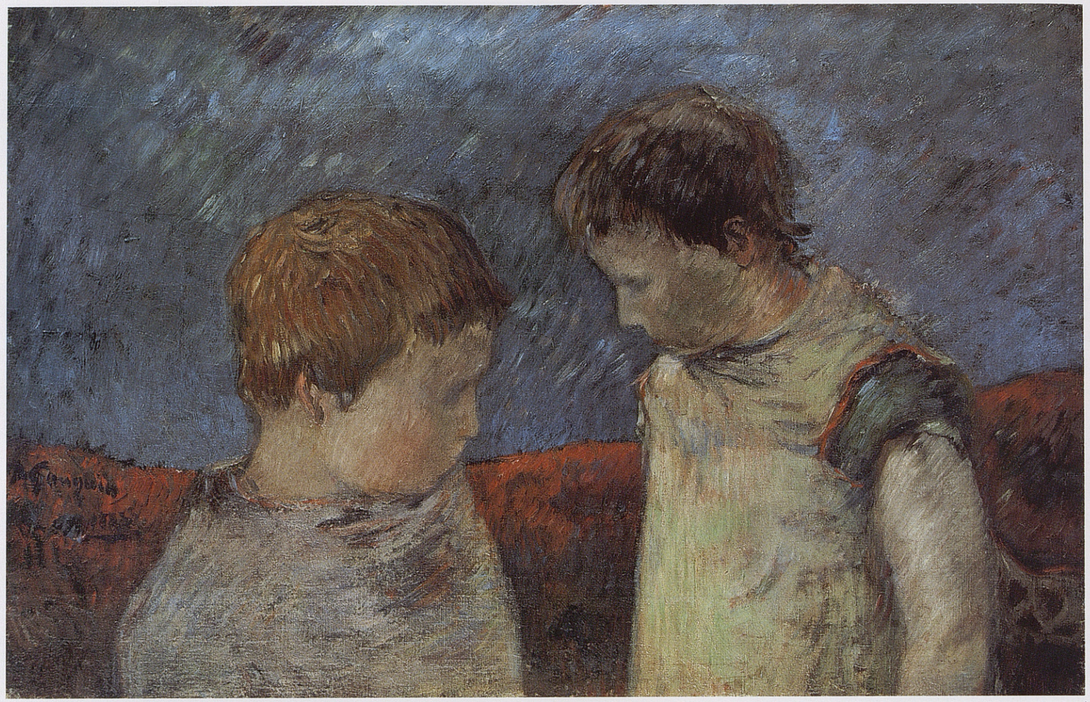
to pose for long at this period, while the rather official and conventional tone of the portrait is at odds with family life *chez* Gauguin.

The stockbroker's daughter ■ Other avenues give us some clue to the sitter's identity. Gauguin's sketchbook (**D**) and the Durand-Ruel archives for 1914 (**P**) attest the existence of a portrait of a young girl painted in 1883 and owned by the Lafuite family. This is the only known work matching that description. Is this, then, a picture of Gaston Lafuite's daughter? Lafuite, it will be remembered, was a stockbroker in whose office – 32 avenue de l'Opéra – Gauguin's friend Bertaux worked as a cashier. Both formed part of the circle of art-lovers in whom Gauguin was attempting to inculcate a taste for Impressionism (see *96*). He was partially successful, as we know from a letter to Pissarro of 1884[1], and from the fact that, in 1914, Lafuite's descendants still possessed not only this portrait but two Gauguin landscapes besides[2]: a little one from 1885 and a larger one from 1884 (for the latter, see *Abandoned Garden, 118*).

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 10 July 1884 (Merlhès 49).
[2] Durand-Ruel archives, *dépôts* 11702 and 11703.

Documents and bibliography:
Probably: Gauguin's sketchbook, 1888-1890 (Huyghe 1952), p. 224: 'Lafuite Portrait Ch.[ild] swap'.
M. Bodelsen 'Gauguin Studies: Some Unpublished Child Portraits by Gauguin', *The Burlington Magazine*, April 1967, pp. 223 (figs. 65 and 68), 225, 226.

Provenance:
Probably: given to Gaston Lafuite, Paris, in exchange for another work (see **D** above). Lafuite may have paid for this commission with a work by one of the Impressionists since Gauguin was at the time forming his own collection of their works, or by returning one of Gauguin's own works.
The same picture was deposited with Durand-Ruel after 1901 by Grillon-Lafuite, 24 rue d'Aumale, and returned to him with two other works (see above) on 5 May 1914 (*Portrait of a Little Girl*, 1883, deposit 11701).
Baron Napoléon Gourgaud, Paris.
Baronne Eva Gebhard Gourgaud, Paris.
Sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, 16 March 1960, no. 74.
Ludwig Neugass, New York.
Carolyn Neugass and Nancy Carouso sale, New York, W. Doyle Galleries, 17 May 1984, no. 83.
Nancy Neugass Carouso, USA, lent in 1984 to: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown (Massachusetts).



111

111
Aline Gauguin and One of Her Brothers

Canvas. 0.310 × 0.475
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin / 1883 [or *1885?*]
W82

Gauguin's admiration for the unconventional framing of certain Degas works perhaps found expression in this very original double portrait. It is not an easy work to date. The last figure of the signature seems to be a '3' rather than a '5'; quite early in his life, Gauguin's '5's began to resemble 'S's. But since the subject of this painting does not clearly derive from 1883, and neither technique nor signature-configuration exclude 1885, a degree of uncertainty must remain.
The child on the right is definitely Aline, who suffered recurrent hair loss and had to wear her hair very short throughout her childhood. It was certainly very short in 1881, as we see in *70, 74, 75* and *77*. And it was still very short in the summer of 1883 when Gauguin told Pissarro 'I've been forced to have my little daughter's hair cut very short, whole patches were falling out; it's distressing to see her so bald. Since she is extremely strong, never ill and as completely unanaemic as possible, it must be in the nature of the hair and it will be more difficult to get it to grow back'[1]. The following year Aline's hair did grow back a little (see her *Portrait, 155*), but we know from Gauguin's letter to Mette[2] of June 1886 that a latent problem remained. An 1884 photograph taken in Rouen shows Aline still close-cropped; the intensity reflected in her narrow, sensitive face suggests that her hair problems had a nervous origin (on Aline, see also *155*).
Aline is relatively easy to identify. But which of her brothers is this? The broad bone-structure of the face and the likely age of the model naturally suggest Clovis (born May 1879). But in early 1884 his long blonde hair is clearly visible, both in *The Artist's Children (113)* and in the Rouen photograph; he could not therefore have

Aline and Clovis at Rouen, 1884.
Photo: Tourtin (Wildenstein Institute Archives).

had hair this short in late 1883. Emil, who was nine in 1883, was as far as we know in Denmark at this date (see *21*). Jean, born in April 1881, was not yet three in 1883 and no doubt looked much younger than the model here. On the other hand, his position in the foreground may make him look bigger than he is, and we know from an 1884 photo (a detail is reproduced here, the whole photo can be seen opposite the portrait of Mette, *154*) that he wore his hair short. It is therefore possible that this picture represents Aline and Jean and that it was painted at the very end of 1883 at rue Carcel. The red sofa would seem to be the one that also appears in the portraits *109* and *112*.

On the other hand, certain aspects of the painting would tend to suggest that the date should be read *1885*. This would mean that the work was painted in Denmark in the first half of the year before Gauguin set off for France, leaving his children behind. The depth of space, intensity of colour and freedom of composition, combined with the strange and perhaps rather forlorn atmosphere, are compatible with Gauguin's Danish work. The resemblance of the child on the left with what we know of Clovis also argues for this date. Clovis was already sporting a short 'mid-childhood' haircut when Gauguin painted *Interior (164)* during the first quarter of 1885. In which case, the picture would show Clovis at six and his sister Aline at eight. But this requires Aline to have been in Copenhagen whereas information in a Rostrup article suggests that she spent some time in Norway[3]. Moreover, the red sofa, which was surely at rue Carcel in 1883, would have had to accompany the Gauguins to Denmark. In the absence of any proof, it seems wisest to accept the date that the signature appears to specify and attribute the painting's bold, free manner to speed of execution.

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 13 August 1883 (Merlhès 39).
[2] Gauguin to Mette (Merlhès 101).
[3] See H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin et le Danemark', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956, published 1958, p. 66, note 10.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 82 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1949-1950, no. 7.
Gauguin et ses amis peintres en Bretagne, Aosta, Centro San Benigno, 1993, no number.
Gauguin, les XX et La Libre Esthétique, Liège, Salle Saint-Georges, 1994-1995, no. 5.

Provenance:
Dr Willi Raeber, Basel.
Bought from Raeber by Dr Walter Wehrli, Riehen (Switzerland), 1940.
Private collection.

Jean Gauguin at Rouen, 1884, detail of photo reproduced on page 176.

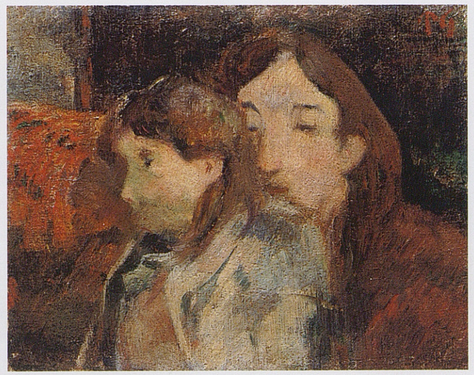
112
Two People on a Sofa

Canvas. 0.190 × 0.245
Signed upper right: *P G*

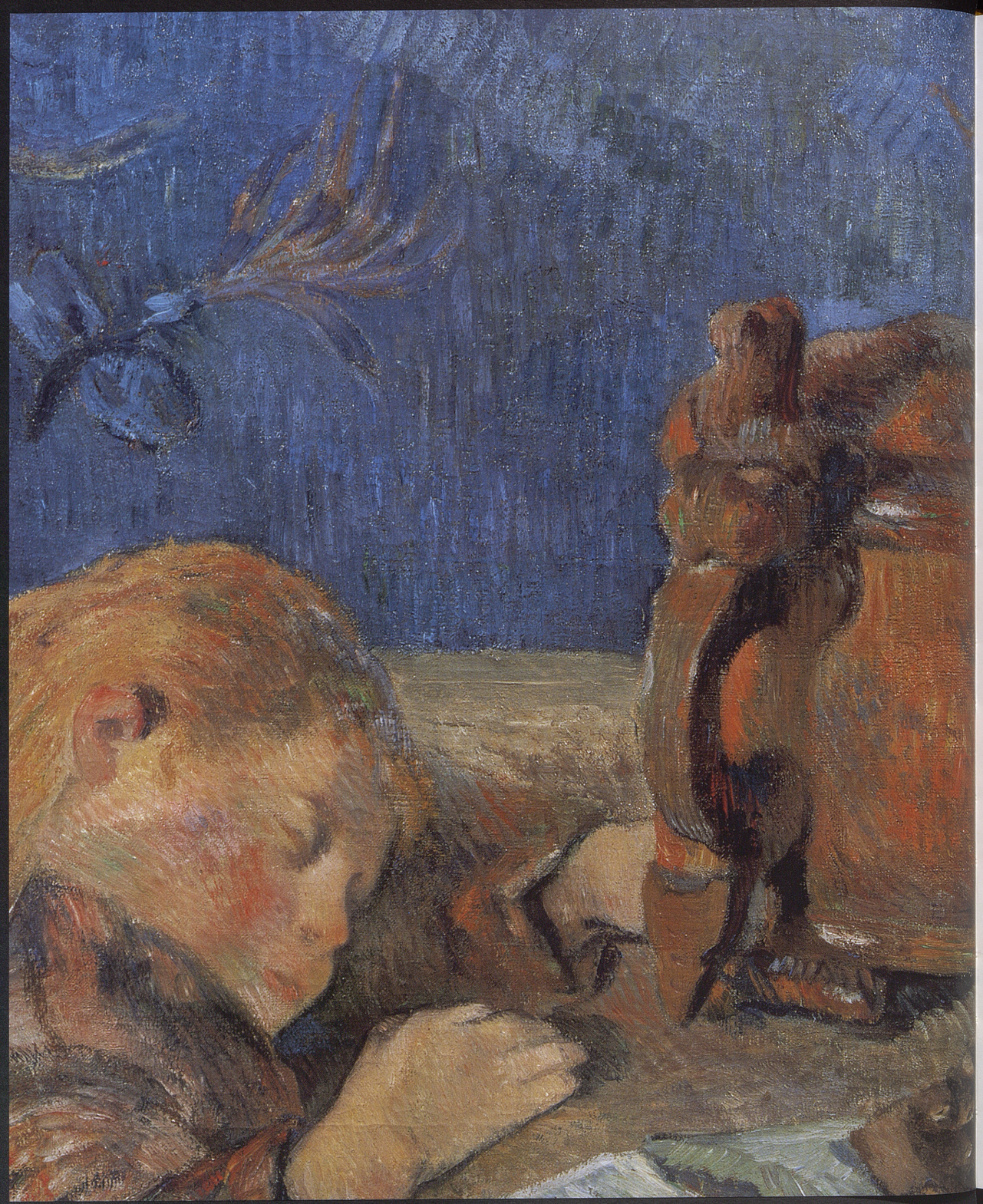
The models (apparently a child and a long-haired young man) have not been identified. Clearly, they did not pose for long; were they merely visiting? The sofa, on the other hand, seems to be the one represented in the portraits *109* and *111* and may have been part of the furniture of rue Carcel.
X-ray examination has shown a study of a child's face, perhaps that of a young girl, completely covered by the present (quite unrelated) painting.
It is just possible that this concealed study is connected with a commission to which Gauguin refers in a letter of February 1883: 'A week on Sunday I have to do a little portrait (a sketch, obviously) of a little girl in a black and pink-satin Spanish costume: a wealth of colours'[1]. We know nothing about the execution of this commission. The portrait of unspecified kind revealed by the X-ray beneath the *Osny, Stormy Weather (102)* seems to be painted on too large a canvas to be the little sketch in question, and the *Double Portrait (110)* of 1883 is rather too official. Moreover, the little girl there is not in Spanish costume. If the sketch revealed by the X-ray of the present work is indeed the portrait commissioned, it was abandoned fairly early on.

[1] Unpublished letter from Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 9 February 1883 (former Rewald archives).

Provenance:
Vollard, Paris.
Sale B. [Bauchy], Paris, Drouot, 20 March 1923, no. 25.
Dr Sabouraud, Paris.
Galerie Jacques Dubourg, Paris, c. 1938.
Leonard Sessler, Philadelphia (Pennsylvania).
Gerold M. Lauck, Princeton (New Jersey), 1947.
Peter Lauck III, 1972.
Donated in 1996 by Mrs Peter Lauck III to:
Princeton (New Jersey), The Art Museum, Princeton University – 1996.239.



112



In Rouen (January-November 1884)

On 4 January 1884, the Gauguin family set up house in Beauvoisine, a hilly suburb of north-east Rouen, at no. 5 impasse Malherne (today impasse Gauguin). At the end of this cul-de-sac, at the bottom of a little rectangular garden, stood an old one-storey house with attic rooms, to which two wings had been added around 1880; they rented it from a Quincampoix landowner, Jules Lenoir.

This was an environment not unlike the one that they had just left. But at rue Carcel, Gauguin had done much of his painting at home. Whether because domestic strife drove him out of the house or because he was now a professional painter and could do as he liked, he explored his new surroundings with a will. In any case, his painting led him far from his new home and in a variety of directions; he increasingly favoured country prospects.

He was now painting on his own, but seems not to have felt the lack of a master. He had more time to paint, and he painted a great deal more: with forty-seven pictures in ten months, more than one a week, 1884 was his first truly productive year. He wrote to tell Pissarro that he felt that he was at last making progress, and laying foundations for the future (see *Notre-Dame, 130*)[1].

And, more than ever, he was feeling his way, especially in the late spring: 'Now that I have sufficient paintings to show in Paris, I'm calming down in relation to painting; I'm painting just for me, now, without haste, and I can tell you that this time I'm doing seriously adventurous stuff', he told Pissarro in July 1884[2]. One cannot help but be struck by the systematic experiments he made with different techniques, some of them very distinctive. He showed a particular interest in diverse ways of representing plant-life, a vast subject permitting all kinds of exploration (see *Watering Place, 194,* inset).

This was also the year in which Gauguin's tendency to use figures unchanged from one painting to another first began to emerge. The variations played by *Peonies (146)* on *(145)* can be understood in terms of Gauguin's quest for decorative effects and constitute an exception since the tendency is often manifested only in very minor components of a work: thus, a bird that first appeared in 1880 recurs in a succession of still lifes (see *146, 147, 151*) and cows are transferred from one landscape to another (see *139*). This way of working eventually became systematic; for an analysis of such components, see *Breton Shepherdess (233)*, inset. Gauguin's signature of 1884 often exhibits a curly 'G'.

The Gauguins remained at impasse Malherne till the whole family left for Denmark in early November 1884.

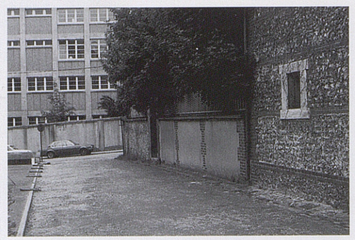
[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late May 1885 (Merlhès 79), cf. *Notre-Dame (130)*, D.
[2] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late July 1884 (Merlhès 50).

◀ *Clovis Asleep (151)*, detail.

113

113
The Artist's Children, Impasse Malherne

Canvas. 0.55 × 0.46
W128



The impasse Malherne looking toward rue du Nord.

This study shows impasse Malherne, to which the Gauguins moved on 4 January 1884. It was painted almost directly outside the door of the house which is just outside the field of vision to the right. The brick wall is that of their neighbours at 1 and 3 impasse Malherne. In the background is the rue du Nord which Gauguin painted in *114*.
The three children are setting out for a walk accompanied by their mother or by Christine (the maid). They are Jean, aged three, to the left; Pola, born in December 1883, in the pram (which may be the one in which Jean was painted in 1881: see *Gauguin's Family, 70*) and Clovis, with his long blond hair, on the right. Since they are well wrapped up, the study presumably dates from the first quarter of 1884.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein 1964, no. 128 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 61.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Cincinnati Art Museum, 1971, no. 7.

Provenance:
Probably: Jean Gauguin : this painting (like *In the Garden, 73*) was signed on the back by Jean Gauguin, probably when it was sold to Gabrielson.
Hjalmar Gabrielson, Göteborg, c. 1926.
Mrs Kirstin Graham, daughter of H. Gabrielson, London.
Mr and Mrs Malcolm S. Forbes, New York, 1970.
The Forbes Magazine Collection, New York (no. P 70018).
Mrs Joan Michelman, New York.
Private collection, Austria, 1993.

114
Rue du Nord, Rouen

Canvas. 0.55 × 0.46
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 84
W126

Impasse Malherne, where Gauguin was living, gives onto rue du Nord (cf. *The Artist's Children, 113*). This view looks north from near the corner of the impasse; we see the church of Saint-Joseph and, in the background, Bihorel hill.

Rue du Nord in recent times.

114

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein 1964, n° 126 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 15.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 18.

Provenance:
Deposited by Gauguin with Durand-Ruel in April 1884, under the title *La Rue du Nord*, along with six other Rouen paintings. Seven titles are entered in the day-book; they seem to match deposit nos. 4274-4280 of 9 April 1884 but no titles are recorded in the deposit-book. no. 4277, still untitled, was handed over on 9 April to the financier Lafuite; the others were all returned to Gauguin on 10 July 1884.
Paul Rosenberg, Paris.
M. and Mme Alfred Hausamann, Zurich, c. 1964.
Private collection.
Sale, New York, Phillips, 7 May 2001, no. 18.

115

115
Rue Jouvenet, Rouen

Canvas. 0.55 × 0.50
W127

A few minutes walk from Gauguin's house in the impasse Malherne, rue Jouvenet crosses rue du Nord just above the church of Saint-Joseph, which appears in *114*. It is painted here looking west; Gauguin must have set up his easel more or less at the intersection with impasse du Pérou. The street map has remained much the same – the junctions with rue Bonnefoi, rue des Marronniers, and, in the background, the passage de la Rampe are marked by rays of sunshine – but the buildings have, for the most part, been replaced; however, the building with cut-off corners at the junction with rue Bonnefoi still survives.

The site today.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 127 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Kleis, 1917, no. 21.
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 35.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 10.
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, and London, Tate Gallery, 1955, no. 5.
Paul Gauguin og hans Venner, Copenhagen, Winkel & Magnussen, 1956, no. 69.
Paul Gauguin et ses amis, Pont-Aven, Hôtel de ville, 1961, no. 2.

Provenance:
Bought from Mette Gauguin by the Danish painter Johan Rohde (1850-1935). On Rohde, see *Beach (234)*, **P**. This painting may have been acquired by Rohde as early as the 1890s; it certainly belonged to him by 1917.
Asa Rohde, Copenhagen, c. 1948.
Sale [Asa Rohde], London, Sotheby's, 6 July 1960, no. 161.
Sale, Paris, Galliera, 18 June 1962, no. 86.
Sale [of a Swiss collector], London, Sotheby's, 26 June 1990, no. 19.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 17-18 November 1998, no. 259.

116

116
Blue Roofs, Rouen

Canvas. 0.74 × 0.60
Signed and dated lower right:
P. [or *p.*] *Gauguin – 84*
W100

The technique of this work tells us that it was executed early in the Rouen period, and it may well have been one of the seven paintings that Gauguin deposited with Durand-Ruel on 9 April 1884 (see inset). It is very tempting to identify it with the

The slopes of Bihorel hill.

The Paintings Deposited in April 1884 with Durand-Ruel

On 9 April 1884, Gauguin deposited seven paintings with Durand-Ruel; they were recorded without title in the deposit-book as numbers 4274-4280. The Durand-Ruel day-book[1] for that date gives what seem, at first glance, rather precise titles for the same number of paintings, though the titles and deposit book numbers may not be in the same order, so there is no demonstrable correlation. The titles prove that these were very recent works.
Thus we find *Bon Secours Garden*, after Bonsecours, the hilly quarter dominating east Rouen, and *Coteau des Malades*, probably for Mont-aux-Malades, to the north-west of the town. Then comes *Le Clos d'Ernemont*, whose title could mean a number of things. It might refer to Ernemont convent, not far from Gauguin's house; to Ernemont hill, the part of Rouen above the convent; or to the village of Ernemont on the outskirts of the town. The term *clos*, moreover, can designate enclosed ground under cultivation in the countryside, or a dwelling enclosed by walls, hedges or ditches. The other titles are: *Abandoned Garden*, *At The Gardener's*, *White House* and *Rue du Nord*.
Certain of these paintings have been clearly identified, notably *Abandoned Garden (118)* and *Rue du Nord (114)*. Other identifications are more speculative. Thus any view with a white house in it, like *117*, might be the sixth picture in the list, and any garden view the first, third or fifth. This is a game with rules you can make up yourself.
These uncertainties exacerbate the difficulty of identifying *Coteau des Malades*. Is it a work for which we have suggested a different motif – this one, for example? That is quite possible: Gauguin, unfamiliar with Rouen as yet, may have mistaken the name of the nearby hills; our location of the scene may be incorrect; and Gauguin may have had his own reasons for referring to Bihorel hill as *Coteau des malades*. Or is *Coteau des malades* a work unknown to us today?

We have catalogued nine works (the last of them is *121*), which, judging by their technique or subject, are likely to have been painted before 9 April. Certain of them would seem not to have been among the seven works deposited with Durand-Ruel in April: for example, *The Artist's Children (113)* and *Rue Jouvenet (115)*. If *Blue Roofs* was not among the seven works either, under any of the titles cited, a Rouen picture now unknown may have existed (unless the latter is among the works catalogued after *121* in this work).

Six of these works were returned to Gauguin on 10 July 1884. The seventh was handed over to the financier Lafuite on the very day that it arrived at Durand-Ruel's; see the entry to *Abandoned Garden (118)*.

[1] Published in the Paris catalogue of the 1989 *Gauguin* exhibition, p. 37.

Coteau des Malades that formed one of the seven, however, that title would seem to refer to Mont-aux-Malades, a hill that dominates north-west Rouen and we have yet to discover a point of view from which it resembles the hill in this painting.
On the other hand, the contours here are very similar to those of the slopes of Bihorel, looking north-north-west from a point close to Gauguin's house, near the junction of the rue Jouvenet and the rue du Nord (both of which appear in *114* and *115*). This location seems the more plausible since Gauguin worked close to home during the early part of his stay.

Documents and bibliography:
Gustave Fayet to Ambroise Vollard, dated by context between November 1903 and October 1904 (Vollard Archives): Fayet proposes a swap under the terms of which Vollard would receive 'a painting by Gauguin – a size 25 or 30, portrait format. Period 1884 or 85-86, I don't exactly remember – very beautiful. It's a hillside with houses lit by the glow of the sunset – in the foreground a man. It's a really beautiful work that I'm only letting go because I haven't a metre of wall left to hang a painting on. I value it at […] 1400'.
Vollard Archives, Inventory 1904: '3427 [Provenance] Fayet. Houses. C[anvas]: 73 × 60. 800F'. [Outgoing]: '12 8bre [i.e. Oct] 1904 to Bernheim Jeune 8 rue Laffitte. [Observations:] Given in exchange with nos. 4351 – 3381 –3421 [*Figure in a Landscape*, *Tahiti* and *Breton Women in a Landscape*] from Bernheim Jeune in our shared [or current: the writing is difficult to read] Bernard business'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 100 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Probably: *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken der modernen Malerei aus Bremischen Privatbesitz*, Bremen, Kunsthalle Bremen, 1918, no. 15: *Breton Landscape*, Leopold Biermann collection (in Kropmanns: *Gauguin und die Schule von Pont-Aven im Deutschland […]*, 1997, pp. 66, 98, notes 212-214).
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 15 or 17, depending on the edition.
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 6.
Vincent van Gogh en zijn Tijdgenooten, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum, 1930, no. 153.

Provenance:
(?) Deposited with Durand-Ruel 9 April 1884 at the same time as six other works: see inset above.
Gustave Fayet: exchanged for other works with Vollard, c. 1904, see letter and inventory (**D**), above.
Exchanged by Vollard with Bernheim-Jeune 12 October 1904 in the context of a business concerning a group of works in which a man named Bernard played some role: see Vollard inventory (**D**), above.
Bought by Bernheim-Jeune 14 June 1906, and sold 28 December of the same year (no. 15056).
Probably: Leopold Biermann, Bremen, c. 1918 (see **E** above).
Alix Biermann-Ruete, Bremen, c. 1928.
Graphisches Kunstkabinett (Kunsthandel Wolfgang Werner), Bremen.
Bought from the Kunstkabinett by Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur, in 1931.
Winterthur (Switzerland), Sammlung Oskar Reinhart, am Römerholz.

117
Manuring

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.74
Signed and dated lower right:
p Gauguin / 84
W124

This work was painted either from the side of Bois-Guillaume hill (perhaps in the vicinity of Ernemont) or from the Mont-aux-Malades, further to the west; in the background, we see the distinctive profile of Sainte-Catherine hill and the heights of Bonsecours. If the view is from the Mont-aux-Malades, Gauguin has eliminated the steep rise bordering the Seine that would normally be visible on the right-hand side of Bonsecours. This is not impossible; in *124*, Gauguin excised Rouen cathedral. In front of Sainte-Catherine, we see (in profile) a roof crowned with an *oriol*; this is a form of belvedere, and a characteristically Rouennais addition to a bourgeois residence.

117

Manuring tells us nothing about the season; it is most often done in autumn, but can, on condition the land is rested for a few months thereafter, be done at any time of year. But the technique of the painting dates it early in Gauguin's Rouen period. The sprinkling of foliage on the little tree at the centre is suggestive of spring, and this, combined with the fact that this painting almost certainly formed part of the seven paintings deposited with Durand-Ruel (**P**) in early April, places the work in March or very early April 1884.

Documents and bibliography:
Wilhelm Hansens Samling, Copenhagen, 1918, no. 123.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 124 (repr.).
The Old Matsukata Collection. Occidental Art [catalogue of former Matsukata collection], Kobe, Kobe City Museum, 1990, pp. 191-192, no. 700 (repr.).

Provenance:
This work is probably one of the seven canvases deposited by Gauguin with Durand-Ruel in April 1884 (deposit-book of nos. 4274-4280 of 9 April 1884, titles without numbers given in day-book), under one of the titles listed under *Blue Roofs (116)*, inset. But is it *White House*, *Clos d'Ernemont* or another painting from that list? no. 4277 (no title given) went to the financier Lafuite on 9 April, the remainder were handed back to Gauguin on 10 July 1884.
Bought in 1916 by Wilhelm Hansen, Copenhagen.
Bought from Hansen by Kojiro Matsukata, Kobe (Japan) and Paris, in 1923.
Deposited with a part of the Matsukata Collection at the Bridgestone Museum of Art, Tokyo, in 1953.
Kojiro Matsukata Collection sale, New York, Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, 15 May 1984, no. 15E (bought in).
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 25 June 1985, no. 13 (to Moreton Binn).
Sale of a New York Collection, New York, Christie's, 5 May 1998, no. 43.

118

118
Abandoned Garden, Rouen

Canvas. 0.65 × 0.54

Deposited with Durand-Ruel in April, this painting necessarily dates from the first few months of 1884.

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 224: '[sold to] Lafuite Landscape Rouen [FF] 200' (**P**).

Exhibitions:
Les Impressionnistes et leurs précurseurs, Paris, Robert Schmit, 1972, no. 40.

Provenance:
Deposited by Gauguin with Durand-Ruel under the title *Abandoned Garden* with six other Rouen paintings (deposit-book nos. 4274-4280 of 9 April 1884, titles without numbers given in day-book): on these deposits, all of them landscapes, see *Blue Roofs (116)*, inset.
All of them were returned to Gauguin on 10 July 1884, with the exception of no. 4277, which was handed over on the day of its arrival to Lafuite, stockbroker, 32 avenue de l'Opéra. Lafuite's commitment to purchase must therefore have been made before Gauguin's departure for Rouen. (On Lafuite, see. *Portrait of a Young Girl, 110*). If the order in the day-book (which gives titles) were the same as that of the deposit-book (which gives no titles) – and only in that case – no. 4277 would be *Abandoned Garden*.
At all events, the landscape received by Lafuite in April 1884 must have remained in his family since it is almost certainly the painting deposited with Durand-Ruel after 1901 by Grillon-Lafuite, 24 rue d'Aumale. It was returned to him in May 1914 by Durand-Ruel: 'Landscape 1884 large, deposit no. 11703'.
In any case: Private collection, Paris, c. 1972.

119

119
Rouen, Spring

Canvas. 0.725 × 0.600
Signed and dated lower right:
p. Gauguin / 1884

This spring view very likely formed part of the group of paintings deposited on 9 April with Durand-Ruel (**P**). It might be *Clos d'Ernemont* – which might in its turn be a view of the Ernemont Convent, near Gauguin's house, or a view of a garden on the slopes of Ernemont (near the suburb of Bois-Guillaume).

Provenance:
Very probably deposited by Gauguin with Durand-Ruel in April 1884 with six other Rouen works (deposit-book nos. 4274-4280 of 9 April 1884, titles without numbers given in day-book); see *Blue Roofs (116)*, inset. But is it *Le Clos d'Ernemont*, *White House*, *Bon Secours Garden* or another picture from the list? All these works were returned to Gauguin on 10 July 1884 with the exception of no. 4277 which was already in the hands of the financier Lafuite.
Durand-Ruel.
Bought in Paris c. 1920 by Renovales, Spain.
Josefina Renovales, daughter of the above, Bilbao.
Miss Bonnie Klapper, USA, 1980.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, 15 May 1984, no. 25.

120
Garden View, Rouen

Canvas. 0.54 × 0.65

Exhibitions:
Wegbereiter der modernen Malerei, Cézanne, Gauguin, Van Gogh, Seurat, Hamburg, Kunstverein, 1963, no. 35.
Washington D.C., Chicago and Paris, 1988-1989: exhibited only in Chicago, supplement no. 2.

Provenance:
This spring view very probably formed part of the group of paintings deposited with Durand-Ruel in April (deposit-book nos. 4274-4280 of 9 April 1884, titles given without numbers in day-book): it might be *At the Gardener's* (see *Blue Roofs, 116,* inset). Number 4277, no title, was handed over to the financier Lafuite on 9 April, and all the others returned to Gauguin on 10 July 1884.
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen (a photo of this painting dating, no doubt, from the earliest years of the 20th century, formed part of a collection of photos given by Mette Gauguin in 1919 to her daughter-in-law Clara, the wife of Jean Gauguin).
L. Salavin, Paris, c. 1973.
Bequeathed by Salavin to the Fondation de France, 1978.
Fondation de France sale, London, Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, 30 June 1981, no. 17.
Mr and Mrs Daniel C. Searle, USA.
The Searle Collection sale, New York, Christie's, 10 May 1989, no. 11.
Sale, New York, Christie's, 19 November 1998, no. 196.

120

121
Pond

Canvas. 0.54 × 0.65
Signed and dated lower right:
p Gauguin 84
W125

Documents and bibliography:
Vollard Archives, Inventory 1904: '4017 [Provenance] Cerfils. Landscape with pond. C[anvas]. 65 × 53. 300F'.
Vollard Archives, inventory of 1 January 1922: 'no. 2225 – Landscape – oil – 54 × 65 [valued FF] 1000'.
Proceedings of the A. Vollard inheritance, September-November 1939, no. 229: 'Landscape and pond, no. 2225'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 125 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'Early Impressionist Sales 1874-1894', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1968, pp. 347-348.

121

Provenance:
This spring view made from a hilltop is probably one of the seven canvases that Gauguin deposited with Durand-Ruel in April 1884 (deposit-book nos. 4274-4280 of 9 April 1884, titles given without numbers in day-book), under one of the titles listed in the inset to *Blue Roofs (116).* But is it *White House, Bon Secours Garden, Le Clos d'Ernemont* or some other work on that list? Number 4277 was handed over to Lafuite on 9 April and all the others returned to Gauguin on 10 July 1884.
Sale for the benefit of Mme Tanguy, widow, Paris, Drouot, 2 June 1894, no. 24 (to Malcoud).
Bought by Vollard from Cerfils [43 avenue de Wagram, according to the Vollard address book]: this painting appears in the 1904 inventory (**D** above) but not in that of 1899, and may therefore have been acquired between these two dates. Vollard, till 1939 (**D** above).
[John Herland] Sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, 12 May 1965, no. 17.
H.H. Landesberger, New York.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, 1 November 1978, no. 6.
Private collection, Japan, 1990.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 13 November 1997, no. 124.

122

122
Street, Rouen

Canvas. 0.73 × 0.92
Signed and dated lower right:
p Gauguin 84
W111

The trees that dominate the right of the picture must be those of the monumental cemetery situated uphill from the part of Rouen where Gauguin was living, between the suburbs of Bihorel and Les Sapins. The street might be the rue des Sapins.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 111 (repr.).

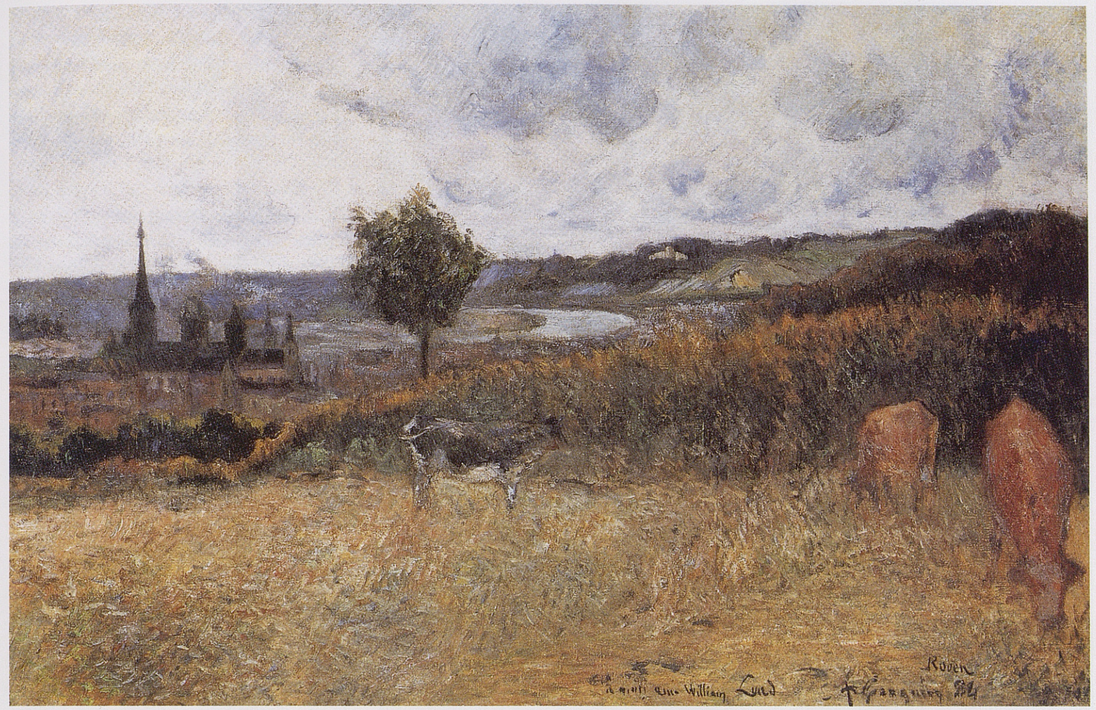
Exhibitions:
(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 55 (*Road, Rouen*) – but this might equally be *127*.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 12.

Provenance:
Bought from a private collector by Brame and Lorenceau, Paris, in the 1960s.
Jules Stein, New York, c. 1968.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 11 November 1987, no. 13.
Thyssen-Bornemisza Foundation, Lugano, 1988.
Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, 1993 – 1988.15.

123
View of Rouen

Canvas. 0.57 × 0.87
Signed, dated, and dedicated (with location) lower right:
Rouen / à mon ami William Lund
p. Gauguin 84
W118

In this view, painted immediately below the monumental cemetery (not far from Gauguin's house), we see the curve of the Seine; Canteleu ridge lies behind the cathedral, which is here inextricably commingled with the church of Saint-Ouen. Edmond de Goncourt had some time before attended Flaubert's burial in this very cemetery which he described as 'full of the scent of hawthorn, the town beneath it submerged in violet shadows, so that it seems a town of slate'[1]. The cow seen in profile reappeared soon afterwards in *Three Cows (131)* and *Two Cows (139)*. Was Gauguin using a sketch in order to repeat these figures? The fact that this motif reappears in several studies (each exhibiting different brushwork) illustrates the systematic experiments that Gauguin was making in 1884. It also foreshadows the 'repertory' of motifs that he began to use systematically in 1886 (for which, see *Breton Shepherdess, 223*, inset).



123

The word 'Rouen' and the dedication are not in the same style of handwriting as the signature, and may have been added later. William Lund, the dedicatee, is known to us from Gauguin's pastel portrait (*W69*); he also owned *Crane on the Banks (20)*. He was probably a relation of Mette Gauguin, whose grandmother had been married to a Lund. Malingue states that he was the chief mechanic of a steamship that sailed between Rouen and Esberg[2]; the catalogue of the 1948 exhibition mentions a William Lund who was an advocate or 'ORS [Danish] lawyer', and may perhaps be one of this William Lund's descendants. In any case, if he is indeed the 'Dane' cited by the artist in his sketchbook (**D**), we are forced to conclude that, a few years later, Gauguin no longer felt the need to mention him by name.

[1] Edmond de Goncourt: *Journal des Goncourt*, 11 May 1880.
[2] M. Malingue: *La Vie prodigieuse de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1987, p. 66.

Documents and bibliography:
Probably: Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 224: 'Dane Landscape Rouen given' (we can think of no other work meeting these conditions).
D. Sutton: 'Notes on Paul Gauguin Apropos a Recent Exhibition', *The Burlington Magazine*, March 1956, p. 86
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 118 (repr.).
J.P. Getty: *The Joys of Collecting*, New York, 1965, pp. 134-135 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 24.

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to William Lund (perhaps during Gauguin's stay in Copenhagen).
Mrs Sander, Copenhagen, c. 1941; still in her hands in 1948.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 6 May 1959, no. 129 (to Eric Estorick for J. Paul Getty).
Given by J. Paul Getty to The J. Paul Getty Museum (California) in 1971 – 71.PA.6.
The J. Paul Getty Museum sale, London, Sotheby's, 28 November 1989, no. 13.
Private collection, France, c. 1990.

The site today.

124

124
The Church of Saint-Ouen, Rouen

Canvas. 0.90 × 0.73
Signed and dated lower right:
p. Gauguin 84
W103

This view of the church of Saint-Ouen standing out against the heights of Rouvray must have been painted from the Bihorel hillside, close to the junction of rue de Bihorel and what is now rue Lamartine. This location, now built over, is some ten minutes walk up from Gauguin's house in the impasse Malherne. One notes with some surprise that Gauguin has removed the cathedral from the scene; it would normally be visible to the right of the church from that spot. He was no doubt seeking to balance the composition of this rather large work.

The site today.

Documents and bibliography:
Very probably: Joyant to De Monfreid, 24 March 1893 (Loize 138): 'I am sending you the pictures and pottery by Gauguin that I have, those deposited with me by you and by Gauguin himself, the things that were not sent to Mme Gauguin in Copenhagen […] [among which is] a no. 30 canvas: Landscape, Church'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 103 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
French Painting, Amsterdam, Van Wisselingh, 1940, no. 14.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Cincinnati Art Museum, 1971, no. 6.

Provenance:
This is very probably the no. 30 canvas (*Landscape: Church)* deposited with Boussod and Valadon, and returned to De Monfreid in March 1893 with the rest of the Gauguin works still in that gallery: see letter from Joyant (**D** above).
Hugo Moser, New York.
Pedro Vallenilla Echeverria, Caracas, c. 1959.
On the Japanese art market, 1971.

125
Tree-Lined Road, Rouen I

Canvas. 0.93 × 0.53
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 84
W109

This rather bizarre composition no doubt reflects the influence of Cézanne's *Tree-Lined Path* (Rewald 409), which Gauguin had bought a year or so before. He described the Cézanne to Pissarro in late July 1883 as 'a pathway sketched out, trees lined up like soldiers and the shadows falling in tiers like a staircase'[1]. Having met Cézanne in 1881 and been fascinated (see introduction to the period 1879-1833), Gauguin continued, while in Rouen, to make a variety of stylistic experiments inspired by Cézanne's innovations. Cézanne's influence can now also be traced in Gauguin's investigation of background effects (see still life *144*) and here, in the pattern formed by the tree trunks (see *Bare Trees, 186*, and *Two Women Bathing, 241*, inset).
Gauguin seems to have considered the composition of this painting worthy of record; at all events, the copy that he made of it *(163)* is probably the most faithful of all his repeats (on repeats, see *Quarries, 86*, inset). The copy is dated 1885, and must therefore have been made in Denmark. The road motif also appears on the right-hand side of a fan (*W108*); we know that this was painted in Denmark since the left-hand side imitates the subject of a Pissarro etching sent to Copenhagen in late December 1884 or January 1885[2].
It is almost impossible to tell which of the two painted studies supplied the fan's motif but the presence of a little line enhancing the relief at the base of the trees tilts the scales very slightly in favour of the second version.

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late July 1883 (Merlhès 38).
[2] See Gauguin's letter to Camille Pissarro, late December 1884/January 1885 (Merlhès 61).

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 109 (repr.).

Provenance:
Either because Gauguin took it with him when he left for Copenhagen or because it formed part of the group of eight pictures sent to Norway in September (on which, see flowers, *150*), this painting must have been in Denmark in 1885 when Gauguin made a second version of it (see *163*).
Alfred Lambert, France.
Private collection, France, c. 1975.

P. Cézanne: *Tree-Lined Path* (Rewald 409, former Gauguin collection). Göteborgs Konstmuseum.

125

126

127

126
Hillside

Canvas. 0.65 × 0.46
Signed and dated lower right:
P. Gauguin 84
W115

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 115 (repr.).

Provenance:
Sale, Paris, Drouot, 12 April 1943, no. 111.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 30 June 1987, no. 17.
Sale, New York, Christie's, 11 May 1988, no. 12.

127
The Road Up

Canvas. 0.465 × 0.380
Signed and dated lower left:
P. Gauguin 84
W117

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 117 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 55 (*Route de Rouen*) – but this might equally be *122.*
(?) *Die Klassische Malerei Frankreichs im 19. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurter Kunsteverein, 1912, no. 53: *Red Roofs*, Eduard Simon-Wolfskehl collection (in P. Kropmanns: *Gauguin und die Schule von Pont-Aven […]*, Sigmaringuen, 1997, p. 52).
(?) *Oktober-Ausstellung*, Basel, Kunsthalle, 1913, no. 47 (*Little Landscape with Roofs*, for sale).
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 7 (*Street,* 1884).

Provenance:
(?) Eduard Simon-Wolfskehl, Frankfurt am Main, c. 1912 (E above).
Richard Semmel, Amsterdam.
Sale, Amsterdam, Muller, 13 June 1933, no. 15.
Paul Chavan, Geneva.
Sale, Geneva, Moos, 20 March 1937, no. 63 (to Emil G. Bührle).
Zurich (Switzerland), Fondation Collection E.G. Bührle – 79.

128

129

128
Sunken Lane

Canvas. 0.73 × 0.60
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 84.
W111bis

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 111bis.

Exhibitions:
(?) *Vincent van Gogh und Paul Gauguin*, Munich, W. Zimmerman gallery, March-April 1908, no. 18: *Le Chemin creux* [in P. Kropmanns: *Gauguin und die Schule von Pont-Aven […]*, Sigmaringen, 1997, p. 40; at p. 91, note 128, Kropmanns tells us that, according to the article by Uhde-Bernay: 'Rundschau-München', in *Monatsheften für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1908, no. 3, p. 203, the pictures in this exhibition belonged to Schuffenecker, and certain of them had already been exhibited at Mannheim and Berlin].
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 13.
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 4.
Vincent van Gogh en zijn Tijdegenooten, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum, 1930, no. 152.

Provenance:
(?) Schuffenecker (E above).
L.H. Devillez, Mons, c. 1928.
Thannhauser.
Mrs S.E. Worms, New York, 1946.
Robert and Christine Emmons, Santa Barbara (California), 1996.
Private collection, USA.

129
Near Rouen

Canvas. 0.72 × 0.60
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 84

Exhibition:
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 13.

Provenance:
Private collection, France, since before World War II.
Private collection, Switzerland.

130

130
Notre-Dame-des-Anges, Rouen

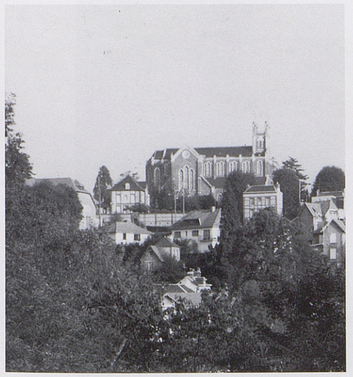
Canvas. 0.73 × 0.60
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 84
W102

Notre-Dame-des-Anges was built in 1868 on Bihorel hill and is here seen from the east, from a position roughly equivalent to today's rue Domrémy. The track going up through the trees to the left of the church is today rue Jean Mermoz.

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Unpublished letter from Camille Pissarro to Gauguin, second fortnight of May 1885 (Merlhès XXVI) of which only a summary and an extract are known through a sales catalogue: Pissarro criticises a Gauguin picture showing a church in a Rouen landscape, of which he gives a handsome little sketch in pen and ink: 'It's still a little lack-lustre, the greens aren't luminous enough'.
Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late May 1885 (Merlhès 79), in response to this criticism: 'The Rouen series you speak of is just a phase, or rather the basis of what I've caught a glimpse of, that is a very matt painting with no obvious contrasts and the lack-lustre aspect doesn't bother me because I felt I needed it. I say 'needed it' because not having much practice and my art being more one of thought than assured technique I needed a starting point that was the opposite of what I detest in painters who try for eye-catching effects'. This letter also sets out the next stage of Gauguin's research: see *173*.
H. Fèvre: 'L'Exposition des impressionnistes', *La Revue de demain*, May-June 1886, p. 155: 'a handsome succession of orchards climbing the side of a hill crowned by a church'.
'Les Vingtistes parisiens', *L'Art moderne*, 27 June 1886 (in Merlhès, 1984, p. 422, below).
Entry form for the Beaux-Arts exhibition at Nantes, dated 26 July 1886 (Merlhès 109, with reproduction).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 102 (repr.).
V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, pp. 437-438, note 206: extensive and previously unpublished information on the Nantes exhibition.

Exhibitions:
8e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 50.
Exposition des Beaux-Arts, Nantes, palais du cours Saint-André, October 1886-January 1887, no. 424. Gauguin no doubt chose this painting and *Park (173)* because he found them representative of the 'matt' Rouen manner and 'fluid' Danish manner of which he speaks in his letter of May 1885 (**D** above).
(?) Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 8a (*Landscape with Church*, before 1887).
Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1949-50, no. 5.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 19.

Provenance:
Dr Willi Raeber, Basel.
Sold by Raeber to Dr. Gottlieb Vest, Basel, in 1935.
Private collection, Switzerland.



The site in recent times. Photo: J.-Y. Watebled.

131

131
Three Cows

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.73
Signed and dated lower right:
p. Gauguin 1884
W106

The cow in profile on the right rehearses the silhouette of the cow in *View of Rouen (123)*, a work of more classical brushwork and less summery atmosphere than this. The same silhouette, together with the one turning towards the background (on the left), and, seemingly, the little tree on the right, all reappear in a different arrangement in *Two Cows (139)*, which employs yet another form of brushwork and seems to be later. See *123, 139* and the introduction to this period.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 106 (repr.).

Provenance:
Schuffenecker: a photograph of this picture bearing the note '4000 f' forms part of a collection of Druet-Vizzavona photos, taken during the first quarter of the century, which belonged to Jeanne Schuffenecker; she presumably had them from her uncle Amédée Schuffenecker, who dealt in Gauguin's works early in the 20th century (on Amédée, see *Geese in the Meadow [184]*, inset).
Galerie Matthiesen, Berlin.
Dr. Noelle, Berlin.
Private collection.

132

Exhibition:
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 11.

Provenance:
This painting, whose provenance is thought to be Vollard, is perhaps the *Rouen Landscape* deposited by Georges Chaudet with Vollard (Gauguin had asked Chaudet to sell a large number of works), and which Vollard finally bought from Chaudet: see Inventory of 7 March 1898 (**D** above).
Sale [of a French collector], London, Sotheby's, 26 June 1990, no. 7.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 30 June 1992, no. 10 (to Baronne Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza).
Baronne Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, 1992.

133
Meadow and Trees

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.73
Signed and dated lower left:
P Gauguin 84
W114

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 114 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 41 (*Forest Clearing*. 0.595 × 0.73. Signed: *P. Gauguin 84*. Director Peter Urban Gad, Copenhagen).
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 17 or 19, depending on the edition.
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 8.

132
Orchard below Bihorel Church

Canvas. 0.655 × 0.460
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 84

Notre-Dame-des-Anges appears between the branches; Gauguin had set up his easel somewhat lower on the Bihorel hillside, a little to the south of where *130* was painted.

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Second inventory of works deposited with Monsieur Vollard, including works sold and reclaimed, 7 March 1898 [manuscript page concerning certain works deposited with Vollard by Georges Chaudet, former Malingue archives]: '2 – Rouen Landscape [sold to] Vollard'.

133

134

Wegbereiter der modernen Malerei, Cézanne, Gauguin, Van Gogh, Seurat, Hamburg, Kunstverein, 1963, no. 37.

Provenance:
Peter Urban Gad, Copenhagen, c. 1926 (he was Mette Gauguin's nephew, and also owned *Snow, Rue Carcel, 98*).
Bought in 1927 from Levinsen by Thannhauser, Berlin, as coming from Gauguin's family.
Bought from Thannhauser by a German collector during the 1928 exhibitions; it has remained in his family.
Private collection.

134
Henhouse

Canvas. 0.54 × 0.65
Signed and dated lower right:
p Gauguin 84

Documents and bibliography:
M. Bodelsen: 'Early Impressionist Sales 1874-94', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1968, pp. 347-348.

Provenance:
Sale for the benefit of Mme Tanguy, widow, Paris, Drouot, 2 June 1894 (*Henhouse*, to Perkins) – the passage concerning no. 25 of the sale has been cut out of a copy of the catalogue and stuck to the back of the stretcher.
Taken in payment of a debt by Alfred Lampe, Paris, in all probability shortly after World War I.
Sale [of Alfred Lampe, son of the above], Versailles, Hôtel Rameau, 8 June 1977, no. 89 (bought in).
Private collection, France.

135

136

135
Sunken Path, Wooded Rise

Canvas. 0.555 × 0.460
Signed and dated lower right:
1884 / P Gauguin
W110 and W112

Documents and bibliography:
Vollard Archives, sales register 1894-1897, entry for 13 October 1894: 'Sold to Monsieur Lévy (of the Maison Bing) […] 1 painting by Gauguin (pine forest / Tanguy sale) 75'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 110 (repr.) and no. 112 (*Pines*, Tanguy sale).
M. Bodelsen: 'Early Impressionist Sales, 1874-94', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1968, pp. 347-348.

Exhibitions:
Gauguin et ses amis, Paris, André Weil, 1951, no. 18.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 16.
Vienna, Belvedere, 1960, no. 4.

Provenance:
Sale for the benefit of Mme Tanguy, widow, 2 June 1894, no. 26 (*Pines*, 55 × 45 cm, signed right: *1884*, 76 F to Vollard).
Bought from Vollard by Lévy on 13 October 1894, 75 F (*Pine Forest)*: see Vollard register, **D** above.
Georges Viau sale, Paris, Durand-Ruel, 4 March 1907, no. 20.
Marquise de Ganay, Paris.
Comte François de Ganay, Paris.
Lawrence K. Marshall, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1958; donated by Lawrence K. and Lorna J. Marshall in 1964 to:
Boston (Massachusetts), Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Lawrence and Lorna J. Marshall – 64.2205.

136
Hay Cart

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.73
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 84
W113

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Joyant to De Monfreid, 24 March 1893 (J. Loize: *Les Amitiés du peintre Georges-Daniel de Monfreid…*, 1951, no. 138): 'I am sending you the pictures and pottery by Gauguin that I have, those deposited with me by you and by Gauguin himself, the things that were not sent to Mme Gauguin in Copenhagen […] [among which is] a no. 20 canvas: Road and Cart'. Several other pictures fit this description.
D.C. Rich: *Catalogue of the Charles H. and Mary F.S. Worcester Collection*, Chicago, 1938, no. 76.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 113 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
New York, Wildenstein, 1936, no. 3.
Cambridge (Massachusetts), Fogg Art Museum, 1936, no. 3.
Cézanne, Gauguin, Toledo (Ohio), The Toledo Museum of Art, 1936, no. 1.

Provenance:
This may be *Road and Cart*, a no. 20 canvas deposited with Boussod and Valadon until March 1893, when Joyant returned to De Monfreid all the Gauguin works remaining in the gallery: see Joyant's letter, **D** above.
Private collection, Saragossa, Florida.
Max Rothschild, London.
Mr and Mrs Charles H. Worcester, Chicago, c. 1936.
Given by the Worcesters to the Art Institute of Chicago in 1943 – acc. no. 1943.57.
Sale of A Mid-Western Educational Institution [The Art Institute of Chicago], New York, Parke-Bernet, 4 May 1944, no. 36 (bought in).
Sold by the Art Institute in 1955.
Wilmers, Brussels.
Private collection.

137

137
Young Woman Lying in the Grass

Canvas. 0.73 × 0.60
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 84 –
W104

A very similar tree is to be found in *139* (q.v.)

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 104 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 14.
Vincent Van Gogh en zijn Tijdgenooten, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum, 1930, no. 151.
Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1949-1950, no. 6.
Lausanne, Musée cantonal des Beaux-Arts, 1950, no. 39.
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 14.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 17.
Vienna, Belvedere, 1960, not catalogued.
Wegbereiter der modernen Malerei, Cézanne, Gauguin, Van Gogh, Seurat, Hamburg, Kunstverein, 1963, no. 39.
Tokyo, Kyoto and Fukuoka, 1969, no. 7.

Provenance:
Galerie J.H. de Bois, Haarlem (Netherlands), c. 1928.
A. Bonger, Amsterdam, c. 1930.
Professor Lanz, Amsterdam.
Emil Bührle, Zurich.
Sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, 3 April 1968, no. 62.
Private collection, Madrid, c. 1979.
Sale of a European collection, London, Christie's, 21 June 1993, no. 6.

138
Cow in Meadow, Rouen

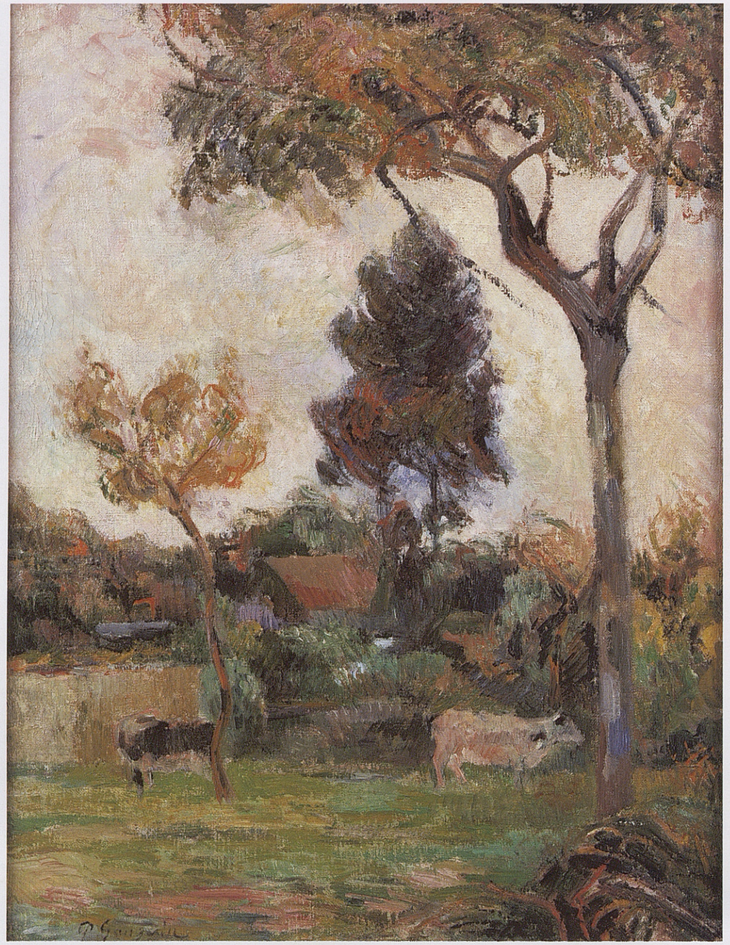
Canvas. 0.54 × 0.45
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 84
W107

The presence of red berries in the (rowan?) tree in the foreground shows that this is a summer study. The silhouette of Bihorel church is visible in the background.

138

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late September 1884 (Merlhès 53): 'I have just sent a big crate to Norway [to the Christiania exhibition] […] My consignment comprises eight canvases of which the biggest is a no. 30 and the smallest a no. 10, all of them done here [in Rouen]: the wildest ones. I wanted to make a striking show there rather than anything half-hearted'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 107 (repr.).

Provenance:
Did this no. 10 canvas form part of the eight Rouen pictures sent to the Christiania exhibition in autumn 1884? (See letter, **D** above). Of the eight pictures, only three – two still lifes and a portrait – were finally exhibited. These are normally identified with the Gauguin works that belonged to Pauline Horst (*Nasturtiums, 150*, and the portraits *151* and *154*; see *Nasturtiums, 150*, E). *Tree-Lined Road (125)* may have formed part of the consignment of works sent to Christiania. Pauline Horst, Oslo. The face of Pauline, nicknamed 'Pylle' (1854-1929), the younger sister of Mette Gauguin, born Gad, is known to us from a photograph, reproduced at *22*, inset. In 1877, she married the Norwegian Hermann Thaulow, the younger brother (born 1853) of Frits Thaulow. Frits was already her brother-in-law, since he was married to the third Gad sister, Ingeborg; see the entry for *44*. Hermann, a great music-lover, was in charge of the major family pharmaceutical business in Christiania. In late 1884 or early 1885, he became interested in selling in Norway the canvas and waterproof covers manufactured by the Dillies company, of which Gauguin was the Scandinavian representative. By the summer of 1885, however, he had given this up. Ruined in 1886, he went mad and was placed in an asylum where he died in 1890 (see Gauguin's letters, Merlhès 56, 71, 82, 83, 99, 123, and V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, pp. 404-406, note 157). Pauline married for the second time in 1891; her



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husband was a second Norwegian, Hans Jacov Horst; she is said to have brought up an illegitimate child of Ingeborg's (see *44*, inset).
It seems likely that the Gauguin works (this painting, *150*, and the portraits *151* and *154*) in the collection of Pauline and Hermann entered it during the relatively brief period of concord between the Gauguins and the Thaulows.
Horst, Tromsö, Norway, 1929.
Morton Oliphant, Wallasey (Cheshire, England), 1950.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 10 December 1969, no. 6 (to Kurt Steffen).
Private collection, Switzerland.
Sale, London, Christie's, 29 June 1981, no. 27 (to a London buyer).
Sale of said London buyer, London, Christie's, 26 June 1995, no. 17.

139
Two Cows in the Meadow

Canvas. 0.34 × 0.26
Signed lower left: *P Gauguin* (signature perhaps retrospective)
W105

Many elements of this work are familiar to us from other works. The two cows are very similar to those to left and right in *Three Cows (131)*, one of which had already appeared in *View of Rouen (123)*; moreover, the little tree with the sinuous trunk on the left is, though simplified, reminiscent of the much larger tree to the right of *131*. The large tree on the right seems to be a simplification of the one in the centre of *Young Woman Lying in the Grass (137)*.
The composition of this painting exudes a faint air of artifice. Flat ground and lack of horizon are very unusual in the Rouen area. Moreover, the brushwork closely resembles that of *Cow in Meadow, Rouen (138)* – indicating that this work too dates from the summer. These factors taken together suggest that it is a sort of montage, probably painted during the summer or early autumn, and probably undertaken as a stylistic exercise.
It is, at all events, one of the first works in which Gauguin takes certain elements from previous works and rearranges them in a different setting. He began making more frequent use of this method after 1886; it developed alongside his compositional ambitions (see entry to *Breton Shepherdess, 233*, inset).
But here, he adopts it to little purpose relative to those later compositions or even to *Clovis Asleep (151)*. In the latter, Gauguin uses a bird-figure taken from an early work, a step on the road toward the repertory of symbols he eventually constructed. The animals in this work are simply required as materials for a study whose main function is to experiment with broken-up brushstrokes *à la* Cézanne.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein 1964, no. 105 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée départemental du Prieuré, 1985, no. 6.

Provenance:
Storran Gallery, London.
Bought from Storran Gallery by Sir Hugh Walpole, London, in 1924.
Leicester Galleries, London.
Viscount Hambleden sale, London, Christie's, 27 June 1958, no. 39.
Mrs Derek Fitzgerald sale, London, Sotheby's, 12 June 1963, no. 73.
Robert Clark, London.
Samuel Josefowitz, Lausanne, c. 1985.
Sale, Paris, Hôtel George V, 14 December 1992, no. 37.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 22 June 1993, no. 34.

140

140
Near Rouen

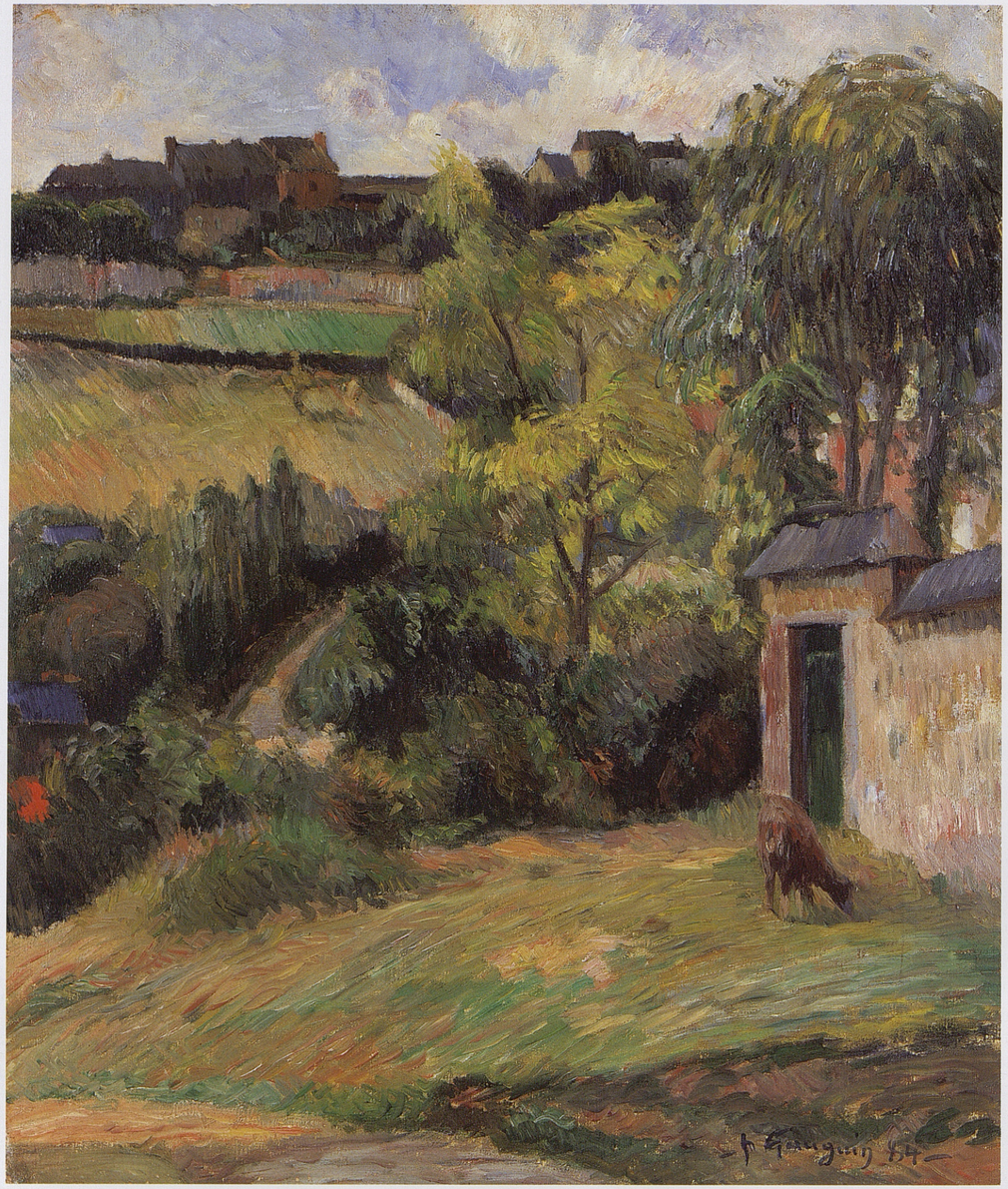
Canvas. 0.73 × 0.60
Signed and dated lower right:
p Gauguin 84
W101

In this, as in other pictures of the period, Gauguin is clearly exploring a Cézannesque treatment of surface.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein 1964, no. 101 (repr.).
Probably: M. Bodelsen, 'Early Impressionist Sales 1874-1894', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1968, pp. 347-349 (cites the Tanguy sale *Orchard*).

Exhibitions:
Paris, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1936, no. 4.
Paris, Orangerie, 1949, no. 2.
Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1949-1950, no. 5.

Provenance:
Probably: Tanguy sale, 2 June 1894, no. 28: *Orchard* – 0.73 × 0.60 – Signed right (to Malcoud).
Olivier Sainsère, Paris.
Sale, Paris, Drouot, 12 April 1943, no. 111.
Private collection, Basel, c. 1943.
Private collection, Paris, c. 1949.
Mme Gélin, Paris.
Sale, Paris, Galliera, 19 March 1973, no. 32.
On the Japanese art market, 1973.



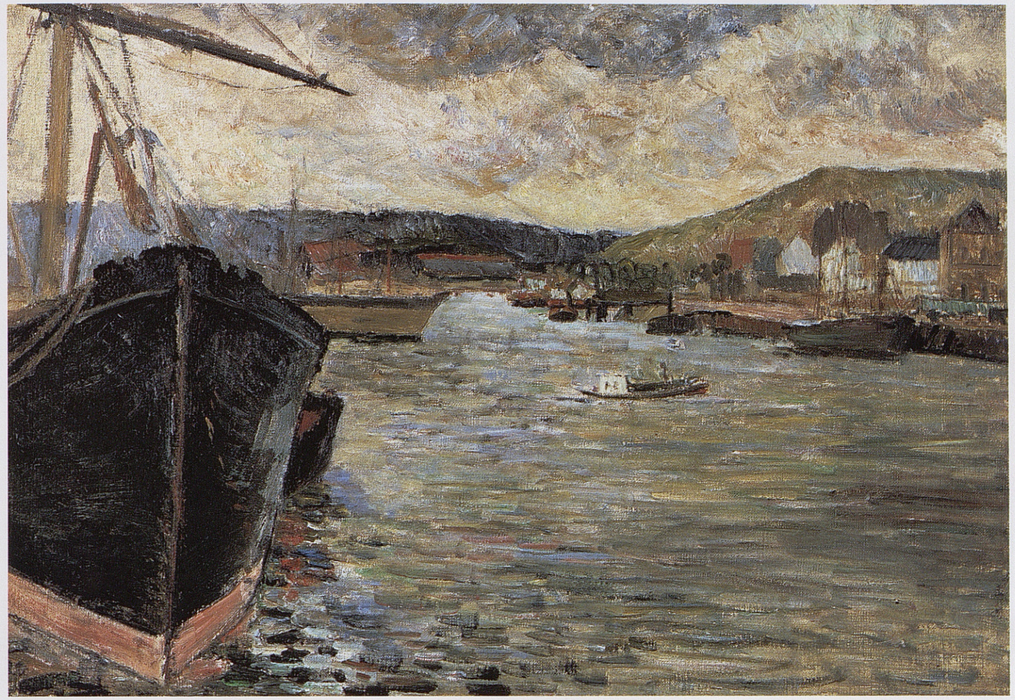
141

141
Rouen Suburb

Canvas. 0.55 × 0.46
Signed and dated lower right:
– p Gauguin 84 –

This picture may represent the Mont-aux-Malades, seen looking west, with the southern hillside of the Bulins quarter in the foreground. But since its brushwork belongs to the second part of the Gauguin's stay in Rouen, it cannot be the *Coteau des malades* deposited with Durand-Ruel during April (see *Blue Roofs, 116*, inset).

Provenance:
(?) Georges Petit (a label bearing the number 14300 on the back of the canvas seems to come from Petit's Gallery).
Druet (label 2909, before 1914).
Leclerc.
Victor Bérard.
Private collection, c. 1992.



142

142
The Seine at Rouen

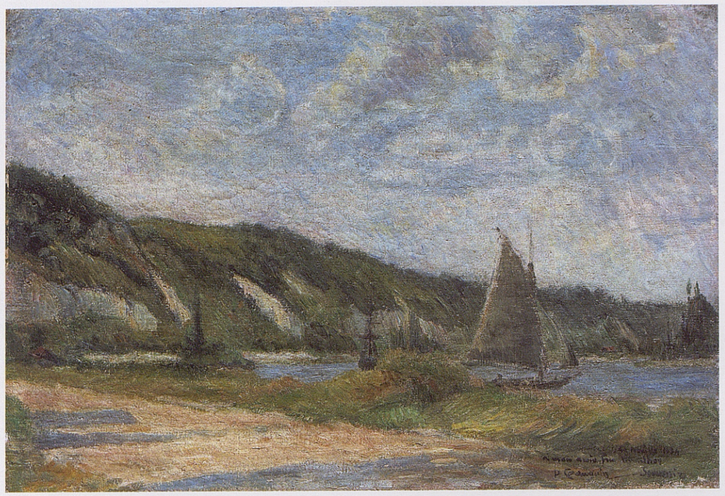
Canvas. 0.46 × 0.65
W122

This study shows the site of the current maritime port just before it was rebuilt around 1885. We are looking downstream along the Seine; the hills of Canteleu and of Bois-l'Archevêque are visible in the background.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, n° 122 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Internationale Kunstausstellung des Sonderbundes..., Cologne, Städtische Ausstellungshalle, 1912, no. 173a (Frau Georg Wolde collection, Bremen).
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 28.

Provenance:
Bought from Baillehache (who had no doubt deposited it some time before) by Bernheim-Jeune on 3 November 1904 (no. 13837).
Sold by Bernheim-Jeune to Albert Bernier on 4 November 1904.
Bought back from Bernier by Bernheim-Jeune on 14 June 1906 (no. 15057).
Mme Georg Wolde, Bremen, c. 1912 (the Thannhauser archives state that this work belonged to the Wolde family).
Supposedly sold through the Graphisches Kunstkabinett to Fritz Nathan, Saint-Gall.
Guenther Krayer, Winkel am Rhein.
Bought from Krayer by Thannhauser, Berlin and Munich, perhaps around 1928 (no. 1363 according to a later file-card written in English).
Reader's Digest Collection, Pleasantville (N.Y.), 1960.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 16 November 1998, no. 8.



143

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein 1964, no. 120 (repr.).
C. Borchsenius: 'Manthey – en dansk-norsk embetsslekt', *Norsk Slektshistorisk Tidsskrift*, Oslo, 1976, XXV, no. 3, pp. 195-207.

Exhibitions:
Oslo, Kunstnerforbundet, 1955, no. 15.
Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée départemental du Prieuré, 1985, no. 36.
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Art Museum, 1987, no. 4.
Gauguin and the School of Pont-Aven, Künzelsau, Museum Würth, 1997, no. 2.

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to Mme Carl August Manthey, Rouen, in 1884.
Moen collection, Oslo, c. 1955.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 1 April 1981, no. 15 (to Josefowitz).
Samuel Josefowitz, Lausanne.
Private collection.

143
Cliffs at La Bouille

Canvas. 0.38 × 0.56
Signed, dated, and dedicated (with location) lower right:
La Bouille 1884 / à mon amie Fru Manthey / p Gauguin – Souvenir
W120

At the time, it was very easy to travel aboard the daily steamer to La Bouille, a picturesque village of 562 inhabitants set in the hollow of a meander on the left bank of the Seine, eighteen kilometres downstream of Rouen. This view was painted looking north-north-west from La Bouille itself, and shows the cliffs on the left bank immediately downstream of the village.
Mrs (Sara?) Manthey, to whom this study is dedicated, was part of the Scandinavian community frequented by Gauguin and his wife in Rouen (*Fru* is Danish for 'Mrs'). Probably of Swedish origin, she was the wife of a Norwegian timber merchant at Rouen (Carl-August Manthey, who was born on 8 September 1847 in Christiania and died probably before 1900 in Rouen) and they seem to have been childless. Manthey does not appear in the commercial directory of the time, perhaps because he was not yet working under his own name; was he working with the Swedish and Norwegian vice-consul in Rouen, R. Herlofsen, a Baltic timber merchant and ship-owner? He was never Norwegian consul at Rouen and Le Havre, despite Pola Gauguin's statement on this subject. The Norwegian Foreign Ministry was categorical on this point[1].
The 'souvenir' is presumably of an excursion made with the Mantheys, though it is possible that the latter had connections at La Bouille where there was a French sawmill trading in 'Baltic timber'. At all events, the dedication and the portrait that Gauguin made of Manthey's sister (see *152*) shows that the two families were on excellent terms that year.

La Bouille, postcard.

[1] The Ministry was answering the enquiries of M. Malmanger, curator of the Nationalgalleriet in Oslo, who kindly supplied us with information about Manthey.

144
Apples, Jug, Iridescent Glass

Canvas. 0.55 × 0.46
Signed, dated and dedicated centre right:
à mon ami Favre [or '*Faure*'?]
p Gauguin 84 –
W133

We should probably read the name 'Favre' in this dedication, and assume that it refers to Claude Antoine Favre: the *Marsouin* was a very old friend of Gauguin's, to whom he had particular reason to be grateful in 1884-1885 (see *Portrait of Favre, 43*, inset). If we must read 'Faure', we can eliminate the celebrated baritone and collector Jean-Baptiste Faure; nothing suggests that Gauguin ever considered him a 'friend'. A slightly more plausible candidate is the 'Faure' known to us from one of Gauguin's sketchbooks[1], where he is cited as having obtained 'figures/landscape: two' for the low price of FF 100.

A formula for evocative backgrounds ■ This is a very Cézannesque still life. It includes an iridescent glass that Gauguin painted several times during his Rouen period (cf. *Peonies, 145* and *146*). The wallpaper against which it is laid out receives spe-

144

P. Cézanne: *Fruit Bowl, Glass and Apples*, 1879-1880 (Venturi 341; former Gauguin collection). New York, The Museum of Modern Art (Donation of David and Peggy Rockefeller).

Gauguin's Admiration for Cézanne

The first known sign of Gauguin's interest in the innovations of 'M[onsieu]r Césanne'* appears in a letter dating from July 1881[1]. Clearly, he was not yet on close terms with the man. Cézanne's example encouraged him to depart from strict Impressionism, to attempt larger-scale brushwork, distortions of space, broken-up surfaces and discordant effects. Examples of this abound between 1882 and 1884, and they are very varied (see introduction to the period 1879-1883). A number of Rouen landscapes, such as *140*, show the same influence. He also borrowed certain background devices, as here, and was directly inspired by Cézanne's rhythmic tree trunks in his own *Tree-Lined Road (125)*. Cézanne was a model of independence and avant-gardism, and we have many letters written from 1883 on testifying to Gauguin's admiration for his elder. He considered Cézanne's paintings 'marvels of an essentially pure art, which one never tires of contemplating'[2], and bought six of them for his own collection[3]. In a letter to Schuffenecker on 14 January 1885, Gauguin expresses his profound affinities with Cézanne's meditative temperament. Latent aesthetic tendencies come to the fore in this homage. 'Consider Cézanne, so little understood, his essentially mystical Oriental nature (his face is that of a Levantine elder); in form he loves mystery and the ponderous tranquillity of a man lying down to dream. His colour is as grave as the Oriental mind. A man of the South, he spends whole days atop mountains reading Virgil and contemplating the sky. Therefore his horizons are lofty, his blues of great intensity and red in his work has an astonishing reverberation. Like Virgil, which has many senses and can be interpreted at will, the literature of his paintings has a parabolic sense with two purposes; his backgrounds are as imaginative as they are real'[4]. The 'mystery' that Gauguin found in Cézanne's forms was perhaps the strange and subtle modifications that Cézanne imposed on forms and space. Cézanne's space had already gone beyond that proposed by the prevailing scientific rationality (see the still life *Fête Gloanec, 301*, inset). In which works did Gauguin so early perceive this rather surprising 'parabolic sense'? Was it in works like *Bather with Open Arms* (reproduced opposite *Wrestlers, 298*)?
In later years, Gauguin would periodically revert to a classically Cézannesque manner, for example in *Still Life with Laval's Profile (238*, 1886), *Still Life with Japanese Print (260*, 1888), and *Haystack (315)* of the Arles period. And in 1888, the example of Cézanne was among those encouraging the avant-garde – which by then included Gauguin – to adopt a still more brutally naïve approach (see *Vision, 308*, inset).

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, July 1881 (Merlhès 16).
[2] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, c. 10 July 1884 (Merlhès 49).
[3] M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin's Cézannes', *The Burlington Magazine*, May 1962, pp. 204-211.
[4] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 14 January 1885 (Merlhès 65).

cial treatment, reminding us of Gauguin's interest in using decorative backgrounds to evocative effect. This was an area he had begun to explore of his own accord as early as 1880, well before he met Cézanne (see *Flowers and Carpet, 61*). Here, in the airborne foliage of the wallpaper, Gauguin achieved his most harmonious blend of atmosphere and decoration to date. It was no doubt inspired by the Cézanne *Still Life* (Venturi 341) in Gauguin's own collection, where the animated background of dancing bouquets produces a very similar effect. Gauguin admired this work so much that he included it in an 1890 portrait *(W387)*. And in a letter of 1885 he confessed how much he admired Cézanne's backgrounds; they were, he said 'as imaginative as they are real'[2] (see inset).

From this point on, evocative backgrounds studded with floral or plant motifs became a regular feature of Gauguin's works: see, for example, *144*, *146*, *147*, *151*, *164*, *205*, *207*, *217*, *261*, *309*, and many later works.

[1] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 227. Cf. *Street, Osny (106)*.
[2] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 14 January 1885 (Merlhès 65).

Documents and bibliography:

(?) Vollard Archives, 1906 diary, 12 November: 'Sold to the prince de Wagram […] a little Gauguin picture, still life [at the same time as five Cézannes and two Valtats for a total of] twenty-three thousand francs'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 133 (repr.).
V. Jirat-Wasiutynski: *Gauguin in the Context of Symbolism* (doctoral thesis, Princeton University, 1975), microfilmed version, 1993, p. 85.

Exhibitions:

Kersttentoonstelling, Rotterdam, Boymans Museum, 1929-1930, no. 24.

145

Provenance:

Given by Gauguin to a friend, Favre (or Faure).
Pridonoff (date unknown).
(?) Sold by Vollard to the prince de Wagram on 12 November 1906: see diary (D above).
In any case, prince de Wagram, Paris.
Huinck, Utrecht.
Bought from Huinck by H.E. Ten Cate, Almelo (Netherlands), c. 1929.
Huinck & Scherjon, Amsterdam, 1930.
John Loeb, New York.
Sale (Henry T. Mudd of Los Angeles), New York, Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, 23 October 1974, no. 205 (to Mr and Mrs Simon Jaglom, New York).
Private collection.

145
Vase of Peonies I

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.73
Signed, dated, and dedicated upper left:
à M. Theodore Gad son ami /
p Gauguin 84
W131

Peonies indicate a date in May or June; they are arranged in the iridescent glass also seen in *144*. The particular interest of the background is the pictures that here make their first appearance in a Gauguin still life (see inset).

The master ■ The works visible on the wall here formed part of Gauguin's personal collection of contemporary masters built up over the previous few years while he was still working on the stock market. Lower right we recognise a Degas pastel, *Dancer Adjusting her Shoe* (Lemoisne 699), which he had acquired some three years before in exchange for a still life (see *On a Chair, 63*, **P**).
It is no coincidence that Gauguin's first homage to a master was rendered to Degas. Gauguin felt a deep affinity with the aristocratic Degas; his esteem for him was lifelong, bordering at times on veneration. The latent influence of Degas on his work became clear in 1886 when Gauguin finally dared to paint large figures (see introduction to the Parisian winter of 1886-1887).

Yet, at the time of this still life, there was nothing to suggest that Gauguin had anything more than esteem for Degas. He was not yet much tempted by figure-painting, indeed, he had advised Pissarro the previous autumn, 'You want to be like Degas and study movements, make art with *the figure*, I think it's dangerous from the sales point of view […] For Durand[-Ruel], do landscape and ever more landscape'[1]. The following year, when Mette wanted to sell two Cézannes from his personal collection, he prevented her: 'Better sell the Degas drawing'[2]. That drawing must be the pastel visible here behind the peonies, and Gauguin was nevertheless willing to sacrifice it. We have not identified the little landscape hung above the Degas; it must be an Impressionist work because it is white-framed (see *Snow, 98*, inset).

A family gift? ■ This painting is dedicated to Gauguin's brother-in-law, Johan Theodor Gad (1858-1917). A lawyer like his father, in 1883 Theodor married Nicoline Thaulow ('Nini', b. 1857); Theodor's elder sisters Ingeborg and Pauline Gad were married to Nicoline's elder brothers, Frits and Hermann respectively (see portrait *44*, and *Cow, 138*, **P**). Gauguin and his brother-in-law were thrown together during Gauguin's stay in Copenhagen (late 1884-summer 1885), which is presumably when this work – like *Snow (160)* – was given to Theodor. Or perhaps the rather formal *Monsieur* of the dedication is explained by some earlier occasion, such as Theodor visiting the family in Rouen. At all events, by the following year they were at loggerheads (see *Snow, 160*).
However, a quite separate tradition has grown up concerning this painting over the last few years; this identifies it with one of the works left in the hands of a jeweller-clockmaker in Rouen when Gauguin went to live in Copenhagen. In that case, the dedication to Theodor Gad is perplexing. (For detailed consideration of this matter, see **P** below.)
In *146*, Gauguin made a repeat of this painting, with some variations.

E. Degas: *Dancer* (Lemoisne 699). Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard.

Works of Art

The compositions of the preceding years had often set plants and ornaments side-by-side with objects evocative of music and literature (see *Flowers and Japanese Book, 95*, inset).
Now that Gauguin was a professional painter, his arrangements increasingly tended to include paintings and sculpture, as if reaffirming his faith in the avenue that he had chosen. Sometimes he paid his respects to his masters or friends: Degas here, Gauillaumin in *Peonies and Mandolin (169)*, and Delacroix in the still life *257*. Sometimes he chose to spotlight one of his own works, as in the portrait of *Laval (238)*, that of *Mme Kohler (258)*, or the still life *259*. Sometimes he seems to assert the value of other forms of art; popular art in the portrait of *Clovis (208)*, and Japanese art in the still lifes *with Horse's Head (216)* and *with Print (260)*.
These references tend toward ever greater significance, while the works included acquire a numinous presence that reaches its peak in the idols found in so many of his Symbolist works, from *Beautiful Angela (W315)* to the Tahitian period.

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, September-October 1883 (Merlhès 40).
[2] Gauguin to Mette Gauguin, first fortnight of December 1885 (Merlhès 90).

Documents and bibliography:

(?) Unpublished letter by Paté, antique-seller in Rouen, 22 May 1932: 'On Tuesday, 3 May 1932, I discovered in the auction rooms in Rouen a large painting of flowers by P. Gauguin, signed, dated and dedicated, dated 1884 [and four other paintings]. That afternoon I bought the whole lot and

subsequently learnt that these pictures came from a former Rouen tradesman, a clockmaker and jeweller […] he had had these pictures since 1884 […] All these pictures except the big painting [of flowers] are now the property of Monsieur Roussel, who bought them' (for a more extensive extract from this letter, see *Mette Asleep, 22*, D).
(?) R. Trintzius; 'Les Trésors de la Ville-Musée', *Journal de Rouen*, 28 June 1932, p. 2: Trintzius describes the five paintings sold in Rouen: 'The biggest painting, a large, fresh study of flowers, was simply signed Gauguin. It was not merely signed, it was dedicated too in the hand of the master and bore the date 1884' (see also *22*, D).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 131 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin, the Collector', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, p. 588, fig. 20 (reproduces the Degas), 607, no. 12 (concerning the Degas).

Provenance:
Was this painting given by Gauguin to his brother-in-law Theodor Gad? Or was it, on the contrary, left by him on his departure for Copenhagen in November 1884 with the clockmaker/jeweller Haslauer with five other paintings? Almost all these works were sold by Haslauer on 3 May 1932 in the Rouen auction rooms. A flower painting was bought with the rest of the lot by the Rouen antique dealer Paté, who kept it longer than the others (see Paté letter and Trintzius article, D above).
The Carstairs Gallery noted that the present work was indeed the Haslauer flower painting, and it is true that we know no other work exactly corresponding to the description of that painting: a large signed, dedicated work, dated 1884 (see D above). On what evidence the Carstairs Gallery based its affirmation, we do not know. Was the information given directly to the Gallery, or was it merely a hypothesis? The Carstairs also stated (in 1957) 'until recently, the painting had never left the possession of the Haslauer family', which sits oddly with the fact of its sale in 1932.
In the last analysis, since the back of the painting has neither inscription nor label to help us decide between the Danish and the French provenance, the dedication to Theodor Gad remains the most tangible piece of information available to us. It should further be noted that if the present work was indeed given to Theodor, the painting sold by Haslauer in 1932 does not appear in this work; since its attribution to Gauguin remains unproven, it has not been included in the list of unknown works.
Purchased from the Carstairs Gallery, New York, by Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon, Upperville (Virginia) in 1957.
Donated by them to:
Washington (D.C.), National Gallery of Art, Collection of Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon – 1995.47.10.

146

146
Vase of Peonies II

Canvas. 0.46 × 0.55 (according to an unverifiable source)
Signed and dated lower centre right:
1884 p Gauguin
W132

This work is known to us only through a Druet-Vizzavona photograph. It is a repeat – with variants – of *145*, and may have been executed much later in the same year. We see the bouquet from *145* set on a different background, which includes the bird motif that first appeared in *To Make a Bouquet (62)* of 1880. The same background is found in the *tambourin (147)* and *Clovis Asleep (151)*. Without knowledge of the colours in this work, it is difficult to establish the order in which these works were painted.
At all events, this variation, a collage of existing elements, foreshadows a method of working which was soon to become systematic (see *Breton Shepherdess, 233*, inset, and *Chou Quarries, 86*, inset).

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 132 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 54: *Flowers. Fantasy* – though this might equally refer to another still life, such as *148*. The description 'Fantasy' reappears in reference to pastels in the Volpini exhibition, though this does not make its meaning any clearer (see *tambourin 147*, inset on decorative painting).

Provenance:
The back of a copy of the Druet-Vizzavona photograph bears the words: 'photographed *chez* Barbazanges around 1920-1922'.
Current whereabouts unknown.

147

147
Flowers and Bird,
decoration of a *tambourin*

Oil on hide. Diameter: 0.20
Signed lower left: *P G*
Dedicated, dated and signed on the back:
A Melle Tessier P. Gauguin 86
W212

Paintings on *tambourins* were very rare in the first half of the 19th century, and all the rage in the 1880s. Grand Carteret declared them 'very fashionable since the *Paris-Murcia* and the exhibitions of *La Vie Moderne*'[1]. The reference here is to the sale for the benefit of the Murcian flood victims that took place in December 1879; Manet had presented several Basque drums painted with Spanish subjects.
Artists not known for their modernity also succumbed to this fashion, which was at its height in the mid-1880s. In April 1885, an artists' bar, the *Cabaret du Tambourin*, held a resplendent opening ceremony in its new premises on the boulevard de Clichy. The following month it held a 'very interesting exhibition of pictures and drums by Gérôme, Français, Clairin, Dantan, Hagborg, Ferrier, Dupray, Pille, Benjamin Constant, Besnard […], and, shortly afterwards, the whole lot found their way to the Hôtel Drouot'[2]. Two Gauguin *tambourins* are known to us: this one and *240*.
This *tambourin* dates from 1884-1886. The components of its composition are frequently encountered in Gauguin's work of 1884: the flowers in the foreground are those of *Peonies (145* and *146)* and the background motifs are found in *Clovis Asleep (151)* and *Peonies (146)*. But the dedication is from 1886. It is possible that the work derives fairly directly from the second

Gauguin and 'Abstract' Decoration

The decoration of the *tambourin* belongs to the series of experiments in 'abstract' decorative backgrounds that Gauguin had begun in the early 1880s (see, in particular, *Flowers and Carpet, 61*, and the still life *144*).
The overall effect remains figurative: the brown surface of the table stands out from the blue-green background, imparting an impression of depth that is realist in kind. But the very free play made with formal components, here deployed largely without context, makes this one of the most 'advanced' examples of decorative 'abstraction' in all Gauguin's work.
A number of titles borne by works that we cannot now identify with any certainty, but which were exhibited between 1886 and 1889, suggest that Gauguin may have made other experiments of this kind. The *Flowers. Fantasy* exhibited in 1886 can perhaps be identified with a figurative work (see *146* and *148*); a number of clues, to be set out in the catalogue of the Gauguin pastels, lead us to believe that the *Decorative Pastel (39)* featured in the Volpini exhibition of 1889 did in fact have a realist subject. But it seems likely that *Decorative Fantasy in Pastel*, no. 41 in the Volpini exhibition, was somewhat further from figuration; it must be this work that the Vollard register ten years later inventoried as 'no. 3693: Pastel. 0.65 × 0.49. Fantasy – Sort of Chaos'. Such experiments, if indeed they took place, must have been very occasional. The time was not ripe for abstraction to become an end in itself. But they are perhaps connected with the contemporary tendency to stress the formal components of painting at the expense of the subject, and to make play with their powers of evocation (see *Fruit, 312*, inset).

Gabrielle

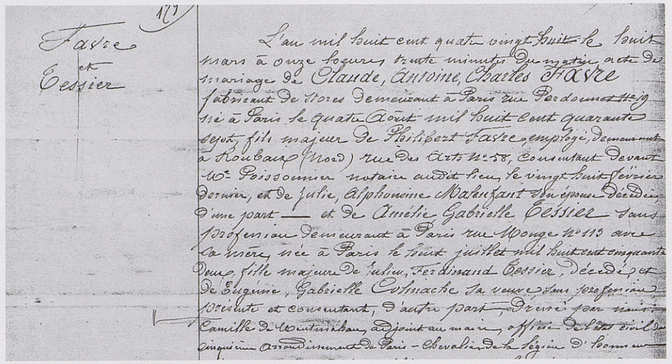
Born in Paris to Julien Ferdinand Tessier and Eugénie Gabrielle Colmache on 8 July 1852, Gabrielle married Favre on 8 March 1888. It was a late marriage; she was already thirty-five. Though 'of no profession' and having (her great-nephew informs us) at least three sisters and two brothers, she came with some sort of dowry. A Gauguin letter (cited at *43*, inset) tells us that the marriage had brought the *Marsouin*'s businesses an influx of 'capital'. Gabrielle had perhaps inherited money from her father, whose death preceded her marriage.

If the marriage was happy, the happiness was ephemeral. In 1892, Gabrielle requested judicial interdiction for her husband on the grounds of his insanity; he was confined to an asylum 'in a state of customary madness and senility' (see *43*, inset), and died in 1900. Gabrielle went to live in Batignolles with one of her sisters.

It was not an easy relationship as her sister was authoritarian in tendency and Gabrielle would take orders from nobody. In 1941, she died in Sartrouville at the ripe old age of 89, and was buried alongside Favre in Montparnasse cemetery.

Gabrielle Tessier was to all appearances a much more formidable character than her husband. When Gauguin wrote to Favre on 25 August 1887, 'Best wishes to that dragon you keep in the house'[1], it seems likely that he was offering his salutations to Gabrielle. Her great-nephew, who knew her in the inter-war period and kindly confided his memories of her, describes her as a sort of anarchist of fanatically anti-clerical tendencies, who despised women and didn't care tuppence what anyone thought. He remembers her as having a waxen complexion and a long nose. Unfortunately no family photo has survived to help us establish whether she was indeed the model for certain studies in Gauguin's sketchbook of c. 1884-1886[2], or, indeed, for the portrait *207*.

Family tradition has it that Gabrielle dispersed the large collection of Gauguins inherited from her husband towards the turn of the century (on which, see *43*, inset).



Entry for the marriage of Claude-Antoine Favre and Gabrielle Tessier, marriage register of today's 5th arrondissement, Paris. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

[1] Gauguin to C.-A. Favre, 25 August 1887 (Merlhès 132).
[2] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald, 1962), pp. 92, 95 and 96.

Sketch of an unknown woman.
Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 95, detail.
Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

version of the *Peonies (146)*, whose motifs it repeats in more concentrated form. The realism of its colours seems quite distinct from the blue-tinted background of *Clovis Asleep*. The figure of the bird had been part of Gauguin's mental furniture for some years (see *To Make a Bouquet, 62*).

The decoration of an object does not require a subject in the same way as a painting, and allowed Gauguin free play in the arrangement of his private repertory of motifs (on this system, see *Breton Shepherdess, 233*, inset).

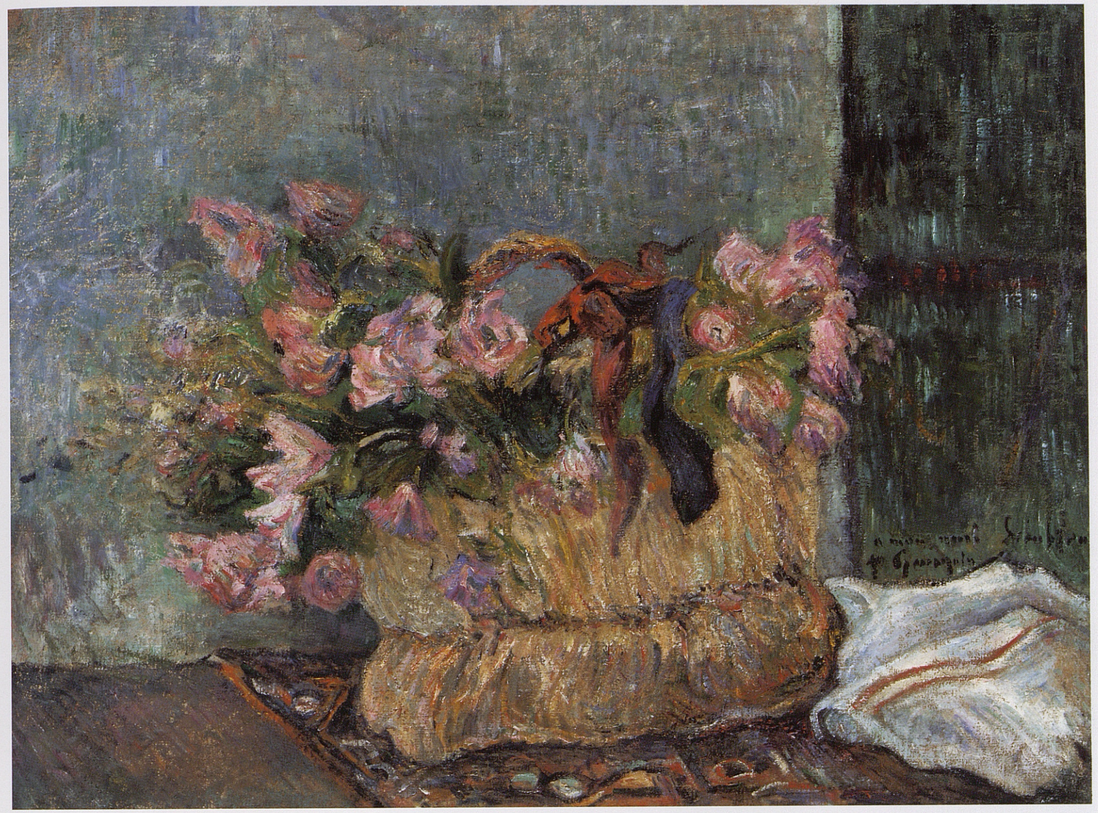
In 1886, Gauguin dedicated this little object to Gabrielle Tessier, the girlfriend of one of Gauguin's oldest friends, Claude Antoine Favre, the *Marsouin*, whose portrait Gauguin had painted (see *43*). It will be remembered that Favre was then one of Gauguin's closest friends as well as his neighbour; Gauguin was living in a little apartment at 10 rue Cail, in the gare du Nord quarter, not far from Favre's place at 19 rue Perdonnet. Gabrielle was almost certainly still living with her mother at this stage, on the Left Bank at 113 rue Monge. But she was prominent in the lives of the two friends, and came with Favre when he took refuge in Gauguin's flat (see the *Portrait of Favre, 43*, inset). Gauguin left for Brittany in July 1886 and it seems likely that this *tambourin* was presented to Gabrielle before that date, during the first half of 1886.

[1] J. Grand Carteret: *Raphaël et Gambrinus*, Paris, 1886, p. 155.
[2] Grand Carteret, 1886, p. 155.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 212 (repr.).
V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 478, note 246.

Exhibitions:
Tokyo, Kyoto and Fukuoka, 1969, no. 13.

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to Amélie Gabrielle Tessier, Paris, in 1886.
Le Tessier Du Plessis, Paris, c. 1969
Private collection.



148

148
Basket of Flowers

Canvas. 0.475 × 0.600
Signed and dedicated lower right:
a mon ami Schuffen[ecker]/*p Gauguin*
W182

The flowers here are of no identifiable species[1]. They are either imaginary (which would be unlike Gauguin) or simply unrecognisable as a result of stylistic experiment.

On stylistic grounds, we date this painting to 1884. It is dedicated to one of Gauguin's oldest friends (see inset). Curiously, part of Schuffenecker's name is missing; the painting may of course have been cut down on the right by a few centimetres, but it may also be a deliberate abbreviation. When Schuffenecker complained about his surname, Gauguin replied 'what can I say about your name [...] Sign Schuffen and there's an end of the matter'[2]. This Schuffenecker sometimes did, as for example in a large drawing of the back-view of a seated man (Grossvogel 255) and a low relief (Grossvogel 291), both from the late 1880s.

Moreover, the Philadelphia Museum of Art informs us that, at some point, the canvas was folded back such as to cut off the word Schuffenecker at 'Schuff' and nailed to the stretcher. The canvas has since been lined and this narrow section restored to the surface of the painting, so that it now reads 'Schuffen'. According to the Museum, similar folds on the other three sides were completely removed. Who did this, and when, we do not know.

[1] According to Monsieur Lemattre.
[2] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 16 October 1888 (Merlhès 172).

Documents and bibliography:
Vollard Archives, 1899 inventory: '3826 Bouquet of pink flowers in a wicker basket [the word "wicker" is accompanied by an adjective reading either "fine" or "grey"]. Oil. 0.49 × 0.60 [Provenance:] Schuffenecker'.
Vollard Archives, 1904 inventory: '4166 [Provenance:] Choufenecker* (Frères). Basket of flowers. C[anvas]. 50 × 60 300F exchange'. The Vollard address book contains the adresses of both Claude-Émile and Amédée Schuffenecker.
(?) Vollard Archives: inventory of 1 January 1922: 'no. 421: Flowers – Oil. 0.50 × 0.61 [Price: FF] 2000'.
(?) Proceedings of the Vollard inheritance, 11 September-2 November 1939: in his town house,

Gauguin and Schuffenecker: The Making of a Friendship

Claude-Émile Schuffenecker (1851-1934) had met Gauguin while they were both working for the stockbroker Bertin, who took on 'Schuff' in 1872. (See *Chronology,* 1872, for a Schuffenecker self-portrait of eight years later). 'Schuff' was the son of an Alsatian tailor and a seamstress (later laundress) from the Franche-Comté. Like Gauguin, he lost his father very early. Schuffenecker's mother was three months pregnant when this occurred and could not afford to bring him up, so his aunt and uncle took him in. It was, he later recalled during a period of depression, 'a grim childhood, spent with two kindly old people in a noisy, smelly storeroom behind the shop in the Paris Halles, and I grew up feeble and timid'[1].

Born on 8 December 1851, he was two and half years younger than Gauguin but had shown a much more precocious talent for drawing. In 1869, he won a first-class medal for draughtsmanship from the Union centrale des beaux-arts appliqués à l'industrie. At the time he put himself down as a pupil of 'Friar Anastase'. Merlhès has discovered the friar's civilian identity as that of François Grellet (1838-1908 or 1909), a history and religious painter and friar of the Écoles chrétiennes[2]. Grellet decorated a multitude of French churches with wax-paintings. The Bénézit dictionary describes these as 'sober in treatment, but rather lacking in originality'. Schuffenecker left school quite early and began a clerical career. On 28 February 1872, he resigned from an assistant book-keeper's post at the French Treasury and his next employment was at Bertin's.
Gauguin was a self-reliant character and at this stage still thought of worldly success. Schuffenecker was amiable but lacking in self-esteem and quickly came to admire his elder. Their common interest in painting brought them together.

C.-É. Schuffenecker: *Portrait of Louise Schuffenecker* (Grossvogel 216).
Paris, Musée National d'Art Moderne.

When Schuffenecker married, he was almost twenty-nine and living with his mother at 55 boulevard Edgar Quinet; the bride was his twenty-year-old cousin, Louise Lançon. His friendship with Gauguin was not affected; the Schuffeneckers continued to live in boulevard Edgar Quinet while the Gauguins were at rue Carcel. Mette Gauguin was very close to Émile and Louise as we know from a letter dated 29 October 1884, the first surviving item of the Gauguin-Schuffenecker correspondence[3]. And there was an exchange of names when their first children were born: in the name of Emil Gauguin, born 1875, we perhaps (also) hear a memory of his maternal grandmother, Emilie Lund, but Paul Schuffenecker, born in 1884, must have been named after his godfather-to-be, Gauguin.
Schuffenecker was the first of the two to make painting his profession. At his marriage he gave his profession as *artiste peintre* and two of his witnesses were colleagues of his own age: Jean Maxime Dastugue, a Pyrenean artist and former pupil of Gérôme, and Lucien Auguste Regouin, *artiste peintre décorateur.*
A small inheritance and a shrewd investment had given Schuffenecker some independent income; not for him the leap into the dark that Gauguin was forced to make. In July 1883, he sat a competitive exam to qualify as a teacher of drawing, passed, and started work the following academic year as a teacher in the boys' school at 20 rue des Fourneaux. The year after he obtained a post at the lycée de Vanves, which he held for the rest of his working life.
Whereas Gauguin soon cast in his lot with the avant-garde, Schuffenecker remained a traditionalist. A gifted technician with a keen eye, he painted portraits, classical still lifes and genre scenes under the successive patronage of Grellet, Baudry and Carolus-Duran. Ranft spoke of his genre paintings as 'trivial events conscientiously rendered, bibulous musketeers, and truants barely visible amid the dark-tones'[4]. He strove long and hard to have a painting accepted for the Salon. His true solidarity with Gauguin therefore began only around 1884-1885, when he adopted the lighter tones of Impressionism, becoming a founder member of the Salon des indépendants; thanks to Gauguin's influence, he was represented in the 1886 exhibition and subsequently turned toward neo-Impressionism. The first known letters from Gauguin to Schuffenecker date from 1885; Gauguin writes without a trace of condescension, treating Émile as an intellectual ally.
Schuffenecker was morally dependent on Gauguin in a way that was never reciprocated, and he went out of his way to be of service. In June 1885, when Gauguin returned to France alone and penniless, the refuge and support that he obtained from Schuffenecker were invaluable. This was a role Schuffenecker was to retain long after Favre (see *43*) had fallen by the wayside; he regularly put Gauguin up, took receipt of his mail, stored his works, was his intermediary in money matters, and met the many other demands that Gauguin made on him. This alone makes it difficult to know when the present work was dedicated – and no doubt presented – to him. The 1888-1890 sketchbook, which records the gift of a number of other works to Schuffenecker, makes no mention of this one[5]. Schuffenecker and family make a further appearance in the next volume of this catalogue.

Claude-Émile Schuffenecker. Album Schuffenecker, p. 26. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Cabinet des dessins, fonds du Musée d'Orsay. Photo: RMN.

[1] Émile Schuffenecker: unfinished autobiography, January 1897, manuscript in the collection of the Musée départemental Maurice Denis 'le Prieuré', Saint-Germain-en-Laye.
[2] V. Merlhès: *De Bretagne en Polynésie. Paul Gauguin. Pages inédites,* Tahiti, 1995, p. 8.
[3] Mette Gauguin to Louise and Émile Schuffenecker, 29 October 1884, (Merhlès XXV).
[4] R. Ranft: 'Émile Schuffenecker', *Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui,* no. 389 [1891], no page numbers.
[5] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), pp. 223, 226, 228.

28 rue Martignac, 'in an alcove beside the dining room' [… paragraph] 196 […] Gauguin […] 421 [matching the 1922 inventory number]'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 182 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 54: *Flowers. Fantasy.* However, this might equally refer to another still life, for example, *146.*
Chicago (Illinois), The Art Institute of Chicago, and New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1959, no. 4.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Cincinnati Museum of Art, 1971, ex-catalogue.

Provenance:
Claude-Émile Schuffenecker – no doubt given to him by Gauguin.
In Vollard's hands after an exchange with the Schuffenecker brothers, c. 1899 (see Vollard Archives, 1899, 1904; see also 1922, 1939, **D** above).
Mrs Henry John Heinz II, New York.
Mrs H.J. Heinz II sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, 19 March 1958, no. 50 (to Mr and Mrs William Coxe Wright).
Mr and Mrs William Coxe Wright, Philadelphia. Bequeathed by Charlotte Dorrance Wright in 1978 to:
Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Charlotte Dorrance Wright – 1978.1.18.

149
Rowan Bouquet

Canvas. 0.655 × 0.545
Signed and dated lower right:
p Gauguin 84

The mirror also appears in the background to the portrait of Mette Gauguin *(154)*; the vase reappears in the Danish flower paintings *169* and *170.*
Rowan berries ripen around August and remain on the tree till the end of the year[1]. It seems, then, that it was toward the end of his residence in Rouen that Gauguin developed the rather rugged brushwork with which he painted this work and a number of landscapes.

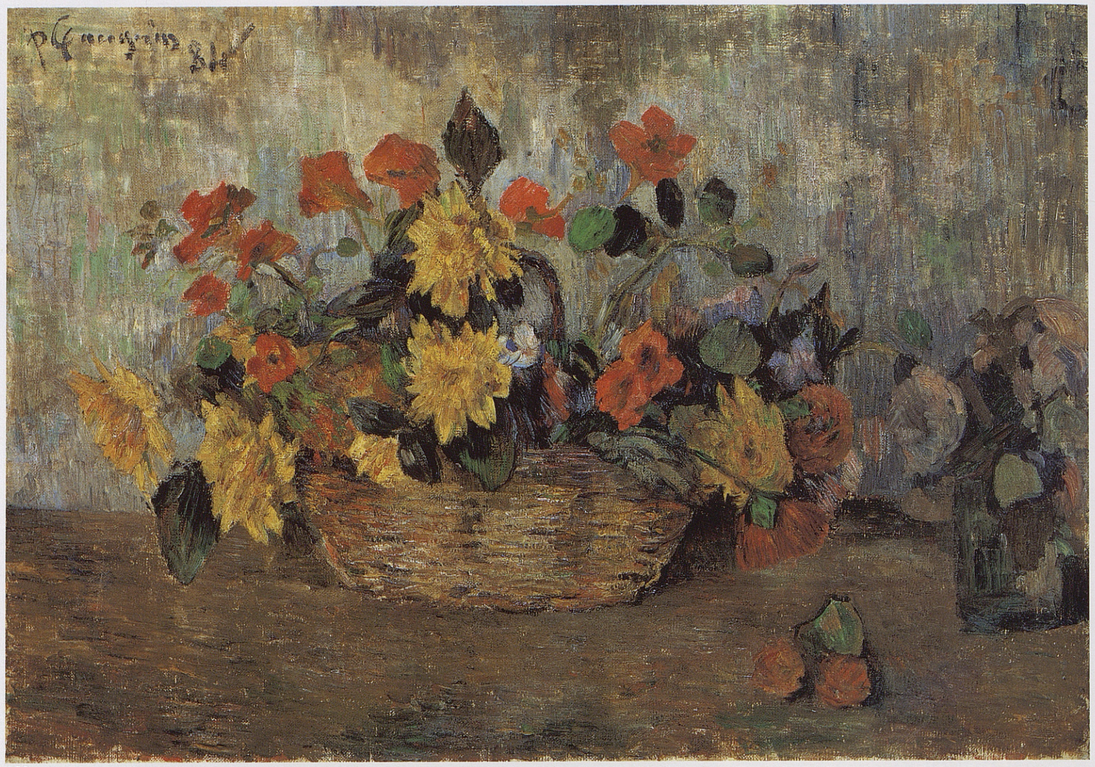
[1] According to Monsieur Lemattre.

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Vollard Archives, 1907 diary, 8 May: 'Bought from Mad[ame] Gauguin […] 1 still life red flowers [with five other works] all by Gauguin for 200 fr paid by cheque'. This is probably an error for FF 2,000. Loize, retracing Mette Gauguin's stay in Paris in May 1907 (clearly using De Monfreid's notebooks), states that 'Vollard came [to the De Monfreid studio on rue Liancourt] to buy two thousand francs worth of paintings brought back from Denmark, which it had been necessary to repair, set out and polish over the preceding days (J. Loize: *Les Amitiés du peintre Georges-Daniel de Monfreid […],* 1951, p. 55).
(?) B. Rüttenauer, who reviewed the exhibition at the Moderne Galerie in Munich for *Die Rheinlande,* vol. XX, July-December 1910, pp. 374-375 (in P. Kropmanns: *Gauguin und die Schule von Pont-Aven im Deutschland…*, Sigmaringen, 1997, pp. 45, 93, note 145): states that the *Flowers* in this exhibition was an early work (cf. also *Nasturtiums, 218*).
A. Kostenevich: *Hidden Treasures Revealed,* New York, 1995, pp. 220-221 (repr.).

149

Exhibitions:
(?) Munich, Moderne Galerie [Thannhauser], August 1910, no. 7: Bouquet of red flowers (but this might equally refer to *Vase of Nasturtiums, 218*). The catalogue is in French; almost all the works exhibited had been lent by Vollard.
Exhibited among sixty-four works sequestrated by the Soviets after the World War II, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, 1995 (see Kostenevich, **D** above).

Provenance:
Is this the 'Still life red flowers' bought by Vollard from Mette Gauguin on 8 May 1907 (see Vollard Archives, **D** above).
Galerie Matthiesen, Berlin.
Otto Krebs, Holzdorf (Germany).
Taken to Leningrad at the end of the World War II and deposited in the special reserves of the Hermitage Museum (no. 3KP 510), until a group of these works was exhibited after the political thaw in 1995.



150

150
Nasturtiums and Dahlias in a Basket

Canvas. 0.46 × 0.65
Signed and dated upper left:
p Gauguin / 84
W134

The presence of nasturtiums means that the work was painted after August.

Documents and bibliography:
Probably: letter from Gauguin to Pissarro in late September 1884 informing him of the dispatch of eight pictures to Norway for the Christiania Autumn Salon (Merlhès 53: for extensive quotations, see *Cow, 138*, D).
(?) Gauguin's sketchbook c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 227: 'Thaulow three pictures X'. No price is specified, so these may have been a gift. The sketchbook gives no indication whether the Thaulow in question is Frits or Hermann, but these three pictures could well be the ones that appeared in the Christiania exhibition, when they are said to have come into Hermann Thaulow's possession.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 134 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Probably: *Kunstudstilling*, Christiania, Autumn 1884, no. 30 or 31 (*Still Life*). Of the eight works Gauguin sent to the exhibition (see Gauguin's letter, D above), only three – two still lifes and a portrait – were featured. They are generally identified with the paintings that belonged to Pauline Horst, on the supposition that she and her first husband acquired them during the exhibition.
Fransk Kunst, Christiania, Statens Kunstmuseum, 1914, no. 29.
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 72.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 15 (2nd edition of catalogue).
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Art Museum, 1987, no. 5.

Provenance:
This painting may have formed part of the consignment sent by the artist in late September 1884 to the Christiania Salon (see E above, and *Cow, 138*, P).
Pauline Horst, née Gad, first married to Hermann Thaulow, Christiania, then to Horst (on whom, see *Cow in Meadow, 138*, P).
Bought from Pauline Horst and Ingeborg Brandes by the Oslo National Gallery in 1907 – the joint title in the painting may have been the result of a family debt. The two sisters at the time offered three paintings and a fan to the Museum, which bought only two paintings, this one and the portrait *154*.
Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet – 770.

151

151
Clovis Asleep

Canvas. 0.460 × 0.555
Signed and dated upper left:
p Gauguin 84
W81

There can be no doubt that this picture represents Gauguin's second and favourite son, Clovis, whose long hair is known to us from a photo of the same year.

Clovis, Rouen, 1884, detail of the photo reproduced on page 128. Photo: Tourtin (Wildenstein Institute Archives).

Clovis (aged five) and Jean (three) spent the summer of 1884 alone with their father in Rouen. 'My wife has just left for Denmark […] taking Aline and the littlest one; I'm staying here with the maid and the two other children which means that I'm feeling rather alone, especially if the trip lasts two months as is likely', Gauguin wrote in late July[1]. Mette returned to prepare the second stage of the move, and left for good on 2 or 3 November, taking with her Clovis, Jean and the furniture[2]. The painting may date from Gauguin's extended *tête-à-tête* with his two sons. It is generally agreed that it was one of those sent to Norway in late September, which would provide an end-date for completion.

Clovis dressed as 'Clovis', first King of the Franks. 'These photographers really know how to set things up; bourgeois, or what?' Gauguin wrote when sending this photograph to Camille Pissarro (Merlhès 50). Photo: Tourtin (Wildenstein Institute Archives).

In this work, Gauguin returns to a subject evidently close to his heart, the dream-world of a child, which he had already painted three years before in *Sweet Dreams (75)*. Here too we find the motif of a bird in flight. But *Sweet Dreams* probably showed a scene from life; this painting seems to be a work of artifice. To this portrait of Clovis (perhaps taken from a study that has not survived), Gauguin has added the enormous *tine* that followed the family from house to house (see *Jug and Mug, 60*). This was so large an object – 26 centimetres tall and 19 in diameter – that Gauguin had little need for expressive exaggeration. He set these components in a highly evocative background that combines audacious colours – entirely transposed and wholly unrealistic – with motifs rich in connotations. The motifs recur in *Vase of Peonies II (146)* and the *tambourin (147)*; among them is the familiar bird-figure. Perhaps first noted in a sketchbook, it steadily accrued significance. (On the subject of Gauguin's inclination toward symbolic figures, see *To Make a Bouquet, 62*, inset.) Though we cannot be certain of the order in which these backgrounds with their plant and bird motifs were executed, they all belong to the series of explorations first begun in 1880, of decorative-evocative backgrounds (e.g. *Flowers and Carpet, 61,* and the still life *144*), in some of which a special significance inheres (like *Sweet Dreams* or the present work). For information about Clovis (born on 10 May 1879), see his portrait (*208*).

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late July 1884 (Merlhès 50).
[2] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late July 1884 (Merlhès 50).

Documents and bibliography:

Probably: Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late September 1884, informing him of the dispatch of eight paintings to Norway for the Christiania Autumn Salon (Merhlès 53); quoted at length in *Cow (138)*, **D**.
Probably: Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 227: 'Thaulow three pictures X'. No price is mentioned, so the paintings were probably a gift. Whether this is Frits or Hermann Thaulow, the sketchbook does not say. Cf. *Nasturtiums (150)*, **D**.
Pola Gauguin: *Paul Gauguin, mon père*, Paris, 1938, repr. opposite p. 100 of that work (Photo O. Voering, Oslo).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 81 (repr.).
V. Jirat-Wasiutynski: *Gauguin in the Context of Symbolism*, doctoral thesis, Princeton University, 1975), microfilmed version, 1993, p. 85, note 2.

Exhibitions:

Perhaps: *Kunstudstilling*, Christiania, autumn 1884, no. 31 or 32 (*Still Life*). This title does not imply that no figures are represented in the painting; cf. *Interior with Aline (77)* exhibited as a still life in 1882. The paintings in this exhibition are generally identified with those belonging to Pauline Horst (see *Nasturtiums, 150*, **E**).
Washington D.C., Chicago and Paris, 1988-1989, no. 13.
Gauguin and the School of Pont-Aven, Künzelsau, Museum Wirth, 1997, no. 1.

Provenance:

It is generally accepted that the paintings that belonged to Pauline and Hermann Thaulow formed part of the consignment sent by Gauguin to the Christiania Autumn Salon (see *Cow, 138*, **P**).
Pauline Horst, Oslo (Gauguin's sister-in-law, whose first husband was Hermann Thaulow; on both, see *Cow, 138*, **P**).
M. Horst, Oslo (after Pauline's death in 1929).
Sale, Oslo, Blomqvist, c. 1934-1935 (bought by a Norwegian collector).
Arndt Holm, Bergen (Norway).
Frits Holm, Bergen.
Sale, Berne, Kornfeld, 23-25 June 1982, no. 226.
Spafford Establishment, Liechtenstein, c. 1983.
Samuel Josefowitz, Lausanne, c. 1989.
Private collection.

152
Portrait of Sophie Margrethe Manthey

Canvas. 0.415 × 0.330
Signed and dated (with location) upper left: *Rouen 1884 / p Gauguin*
W97

Born on 21 July 1853, Sophie Margrethe was the sixth in a veritable tribe: the ten children born to one Ludvig Johan Carl Manthey. Fifth in order of age came Carl August Manthey, a Rouen timber-merchant. The Manthey family formed part of the Scandinavian circle frequented by the Gauguins and seem to have been quite close friends to judge by the dedication of the little painting *Cliffs* (see *143*).
Sophie had come to Paris to follow a Red Cross training course, and became a nurse. This apparently unfinished portrait may have been made when she was visiting her brother. She never married, but returned to Norway early in the 20th century and died in Oslo on 11 February 1941.
The model was identified by Pola Gauguin, and is confirmed by the portrait's resemblance to a photograph of Sophie Margrethe published by Bull[1].

[1] We should like to thank Mr Malmanger, Curator at the Oslo Nasjonalgalleriet, for drawing our attention to this.

Documents and bibliography:

F. Bull: *Tradijoner og minner*, Olso, 1945, p. 163 (includes a photograph in which the model appears).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 97 (repr.).
C. Borchsenius, 'Manthey – en dansk-norsk embetsslekt', *Norsk Slektshistorisk Tidsskrift*, Oslo, 1976, XXV, no. 3, pp. 195-207 (on the Manthey family).

Provenance:

Sophie Margrethe Manthey, Oslo: she is thought to have returned to Norway with her portrait around 1910.
Mrs E. Lehnkering, West Berlin, c. 1964.
Private collection.

152

Miss Manthey, detail of a photograph (from Bull, 1945).

153

153
Portrait of a Man

Canvas. 0.655 × 0.460
Dated (with location) upper left:
Rouen / 1884
Signed lower right: *p Gauguin*
W94

The model for this work remains unknown. It is, however, plausible to identify this painting with a reference in Gauguin's sketchbook of 1888-1890 (**D**): 'Swedish woman Rouen (Portrait of a man)'. The 'Swedish woman' was subsequently crossed out and replaced by 'Philipsen'. This does not help; Philipsen is a Danish rather than Swedish name. No price is given, which suggests that the work was given, either spontaneously or in return for a service.

One wonders whether this is the portrait of Sophus Philipsen, a Danish ship-owner and captain in the merchant navy who was related to Mette Gauguin and had married a cousin of hers. Philipsen had been of great service to the Gauguins, Mette having made her return voyage Rouen-Denmark in the summer of 1884 'for free' on 'a Danish ship belonging to her cousin'[1]. (However, Malingue attributes this favour to another relative of Mette's, William Lund: see *View of Rouen , 123*)[2]. The ship-owner very likely offered the Gauguins a number of other free trips, probably including their move to Denmark in November 1884.
Yet there are grounds for refusing this identification. Sophus was twin to the painter Theodor Philipsen (1840-1920) whose physiognomy – pointed nose, deep-set eyes, pronounced bone-structure, receding brow and curly hair – has nothing in common with the model here (there is a photograph of the painter at *Road, 163*). If the model is Sophus, the twins were not identical twins, indeed, showed no family resemblance, and Sophus would have had to look a little younger than he actually was (forty-four). Finally, the sketchbook entry does not necessarily designate Sophus Philipsen; the brothers were Danish not Swedish, and the term 'portrait of a man' is perhaps rather too impersonal for a man to whom Gauguin referred as 'Sophus' in his correspondence[3].

The Nordic features displayed in this portrait cannot help but recall Gauguin's plan, as Zandomeneghi apparently put it, 'to exploit the Scandinavians of Rouen'[4]. Gauguin's own words to Pissarro are less predatory: 'I shall try and make some contacts in Rouen, perhaps I can sell some work to the rich merchants there'[5].
Ships from all over the world docked in the river-port of Rouen, and it did indeed have a considerable Scandinavian colony. The commercial directories of the time provide names no doubt known to Mette and Paul Gauguin: Adolphe Emering, the Danish Vice-Consul and Director of a smelting works; R. Herlofsen, Swedish and Norwegian Vice-Consul, a timber-merchant and builder: Jacobson and Sterne, coal merchants, and so on. No 'Swedish woman' and no Philipsen make overt appearances in these directories, but the Scandinavian community was not confined to those listed. So it is quite possible that this portrait was the result of a commission that Gauguin obtained from the Scandinavian business community. In that case, his failure to note the price in his sketchbook is surprising.
As things stand, then, we cannot identify the model. The only certainty is that he posed at Gauguin's house in impasse Malherne, in the same upright chair in which Mette posed for her portrait, *154.*

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late July 1884 (Merlhès 50).
[2] M. Malingue: *La Vie prodigieuse de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1987, p. 66.
[3] Gauguin to Mette, March 1887 (Merlhès 122).
[4] Zandomeneghi to Camille Pissarro, 22 November 1883 (Merlhès XXIV).
[5] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 29 October 1883 (Merlhès 42).

Documents and bibliography:
Probably: Gauguin's sketchbook c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 227 (see above).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 94 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts in Cölner Privatbesitz, Cologne, Kunstverein am Wallraf-Richartz Museum, October-November 1912, no. 27 (repr.): *Portrait of a Man*, Mrs C. Goldmann collection (in P. Kropmanns: *Gauguin und die Schule von Pont-Aven…*, Sigmaringen, 1997, p. 52).
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 16 or 18, depending on the edition.
Houston (Texas), The Museum of Fine Arts, 1954, no. 3.
Palm Beach (Florida), The Society of the Four Arts, 1956, no. 2.
New York, Wildenstein, 1956, no. 1.
Chicago (Illinois), The Art Institute of Chicago, and New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1959, no. 2.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Cincinnati Art Museum, 1971, no. 5.

Provenance:
(?) A Swedish woman or Philipsen (see above).
Said to have been acquired in a Paris sale in November 1911 by Justin K. Thannhauser (unless this has been confused with the following sale, in which the work may have featured).
(?) Sale, Paris, 13 March 1912, no. 22 (*Portrait of a Man*, 0.65 × 0.46, signed lower right).
Mrs C. Goldmann, Cologne, c. 1912 (see **E** above).
Hagelstange, Cologne (this may be Alfred Hagelstange, Director of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne).
Josef Stransky, New York, c. 1924.
Dr. Richard Ederheimer, Frankfurt-am-Main, c. 1928.
Mr and Mrs William B. Jaffe, New York, c. 1956.
Private collection.

154
Mette in Evening Dress

Canvas. 0.65 × 0.54
Signed and dated bottom centre:
84 / p Gauguin
W95

This portrait was painted in the Gauguins' Rouen home at 5 impasse Malherne; we recognise the chair from *Portrait of a Man (153)* and the mirror from *Rowan Bouquet (149)*. It is, along with a marble bust executed in Bouillot's studio some years before (Gray 1), the only major representation of Mette Sophie Gad – since *Woman Embroidering, 65*, is not a sufficient likeness to count as a portrait. Mette married Gauguin in November 1873, bore him five children, and lived with him until June 1885. It was probably painted before the end of July when Mette left for Copenhagen with Aline and Pola; she returned to France to fetch Jean and Clovis and prepare the move to Denmark which took place on 3 or 4 November. Mette also spent some time in Rouen in October, but perhaps not then in a state of mind conducive to posing.

Marital crisis ■ The vigorous young wife described in the entry to the 1875 painting *Mette Asleep (22)* now had five children and was nearly thirty-four years old. She was disappointed in her marriage; since the slump had forced Gauguin to give up his stockbroking career in or around October 1883, their relationship had been a thorny one. 'I must admit that in the midst of the difficulties that surround me, my wife is a considerable encumbrance; the less there is, the more she requires and the less she stints herself', Gauguin wrote in late July 1884[1]. Confirmation comes in a note from Mette to Schuffenecker: 'Thank you for your reception on Monday, and for my dress, which Paul couldn't help but admire, despite that it cost more than it was supposed to'. The letter concludes with an IOU: 'I owe Schufenecker* 420 fr'[2]. Mette is also extremely elegantly dressed in a photograph taken that same year in Rouen and reproduced here.

Writing to Schuffenecker long afterwards, Gauguin remembered Mette's misdeeds and the stormy scenes of summer 1884: 'Mme Gauguin managed to work up debts throughout the neighbourhood, and even borrowed from you without my knowing. I, or rather she, owed Mme Heegaard 2000 fr. […] I left for Rouen: my life had become unbearable because of my wife's character. By the 15th of the month she hadn't a penny because she was secretly paying off debts. I wrote to her mother for a divorce. My wife went to Denmark for a few days. Throughout that time, Madame's IOUs were arriving in the post. Christine [the maid] confessed that it was the same every month. Showdown on Madame's return; she didn't want to divorce, tears, forgiveness'[3].
Mette was unwilling to live without a penny to her name; having earned her own living from the age of seventeen, she decided to do so again. 'We have decided that my wife will move to Denmark and give French lessons. I think she'll find it easy to earn money; true, it's a little ignoble my wife being the one to earn our keep, but my conscience is clear. I've worked long enough on everyone else's behalf, and if I can't at the moment earn my living, the real imbecile is the public'[4]. Thus, one year before they separated, the question of money had assumed a centrality it was never to lose. It should also be noted that the Naquet law of 27 July 1884 had re-established civil divorce, providing a new outcome for marital disputes.
This was a stormy context for portraiture. Was the painting, for Gauguin, an attempt to reassess his relationship, to state what he liked and disliked in his wife? And did Mette, normally too impatient to pose, consciously lend herself to this summation?

Mette Gauguin with Pola and Jean, Rouen, 1884.
Photo: former Malingue Archives.

Determined and pragmatic ■ Pola Gauguin later described his mother in these terms: 'tall, buxom, of simple, natural build, her broad, open features gave an extraordinary firmness to her expression'. Her voice was 'strong, a little husky […] her speech calm and controlled, with very clear enunciation'. The milieu from which she came was one of civil servants, 'accustomed to frequenting all kinds of people with aplomb, adopting the manner best-suited to each', and Mette was therefore 'extraordinarily easy to get along with'. She took 'pleasure in her home, but was much fonder of society and society connections than was her husband […] their social life was largely determined by Mette's friends'. Pola added: 'the interest that she took in matters of love was not intense and was overshadowed by her pragmatism and humour'. What most concerned her was 'her freedom, which she thought of as one of the essential boons of this life'[5]. Though Gauguin's portrait of Mette portrays her as utterly bourgeois, it also reveals a lack of sophistication at once provincial and rather endearing, while her self-belief, firmly established by the frank and imperious inquiry of her gaze, seems nothing less than monolithic.

A cryptic allusion ■ In the centre of the painting is something rather astonishing; below the arm of the chair, Gauguin has conjured the outline of a bird from the edges of Mette's bodice and skirt and the tassel of her fan. Other pictures, from 1884 (for example *Peonies, 146*, and *Clovis Asleep,*

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Mette Gauguin in Copenhagen

The somewhat 'ignoble' solution which left Mette to earn her husband's living during the family's stay in Copenhagen quickly proved infeasible. Separation was the only way out and Gauguin returned to France in June 1885. Responsibility for the children thus fell entirely on Mette's shoulders, though she had the good fortune to be living in the bosom of her family and surrounded by loyal friends such as the Moltkes and Heegaards.

The family earner ■ As expected, Mette easily found clients for her French lessons. And from the summer of 1884 she had regular work translating the novels serialised in the daily paper *Politiken*. This came through her sister Ingeborg, who was, as we have seen, close to Edvard Brandes, the paper's founder (see *Portrait of Ingeborg, 44*, inset). These translations included *War and Peace* (recently published in French) in 1884-1885 and several Zola novels over the course of the 1890s[1]. We know little about her other professional occupations. Rostrup once told us that she was at one time a clerk in the State lottery directed by Abrahams. No doubt teaching had a part in her life, as witness an 1890s photo published by Beaute[2], which shows no lack of confidence in that role.

Irretrievable breakdown ■ Despite their incompatible choices of lifestyle and their unsatisfactory relationship ('Not for the first time in our married life your letters are anything but an exchange of thoughts and feelings', Gauguin told her in June 1888)[3], theirs was at first a trial separation. They gave up all thought of reconciliation only in 1893.

Mette and her children, c. 1888.
Musée de Tahiti.
Photo: J. Petersen & Sön, Copenhagen.

Mette and a group of young women.
To the right, under Mette's elbow, Aline
(from Beaute, 1988).

Writing immediately after the solitary visit that he made to his family in 1891, Gauguin was unusually open about his feelings: 'My beloved Mette, […] I know how difficult things are for you now, but the future is now assured [recognition of his status was beginning] and I should be happy – very happy – if you wished to share it with me. […] Adieu, dear Mette, dear children, keep me a place in your hearts. When I return we shall remarry'[4].
Demands and frustrations both financial and emotional finally overtook them in early 1894. Gauguin felt that Mette already received a certain income from him in the form of the works that she sold, and he refused to share a small inheritance from his uncle Isidore. Not content with this, he asked her to give an account of her transactions. Was she really, in her own words, 'venal, as Paul used to say'[5]? She certainly never forgave him *his* attitude: 'his ferocious selfishness disgusts me whenever I think of it', she wrote in 1900, some years after all contact had ceased[6]. In May 1907, De Monfreid gave Mette dinner; 'she vented her spleen on her husband throughout the meal'[7].
The wreck of his marriage damaged Gauguin intimately. He never again attempted to live with a woman of his own age nor one who was his cultural equal (see the *Portrait of Madeleine Bernard, 305*, inset). He often affected cynical views: 'No Love – meat, and nothing more'[8]. And bourgeois marriage became his *bête noire*: 'These days nothing is for free, everything's for sale the married woman no less than the man who trades on the dowry. That's true prostitution./ Man and woman are raised to war on each other'[9].
Beneath this bravado, he was suffering. The loss of his family was unbearable and, just occasionally, we get a glimpse of his true feelings: 'I feel more painfully than ever the horror of the sacrifice that I have made, which is irreparable'[10], he said before leaving for Tahiti. It was a wound that he felt till his dying day.

At the turn of the century, Mette wore a cap or even a kepi, smoked cigars and dressed like a man. Brandes, who disliked her, said 'she bears herself like a man and thinks and talks enough for ten women'[11]. Segalen was not much more charitable when he wrote to his wife in 1907: 'Madame Gauguin is, in short, a strong personality of the northern Protestant kind, putrid with virtue and vitiated to the core with flinty Christianity'[12].
Charm was clearly not Mette's forte; she was a strong personality who said what she thought, and in the hostilities between herself and Paul, she could be as unfeeling as he was intransigent. She was clearly a more humdrum personality than her husband and had suffered a great deal as an artist's wife in France. They had married young, and divorce was a humane remedy to the incompatibility revealed; but did separation have to bring with it such bitterness and recrimination?

[1] K. Hvidt: *Edvard Brandes*, Copenhagen, 1987, pp. 246, 248.
[2] G. Beaute: *Paul Gauguin vu par les photographes*, Lausanne, 1988, p. 85.
[3] Gauguin to Mette, June 1888 (Merlhès 154).
[4] Gauguin to Mette, 24 March 1891 (Malingue CXXIII).
[5] Mette Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 15 September 1893, in M. Malingue: *Lettres de Gauguin à sa femme et à ses amis*, Paris, 1946, p. 327.
[6] Mette Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 11 June 1900, in Malingue, 1946, p. 328.
[7] J. Loize: *Les Amitiés du peintre Georges-Daniel de Monfreid…*, Paris, 1951, p. 55.
[8] Gauguin to A. Séguin, 15 January 1897, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
[9] Archives of the Getty Center for the History of Art, Los Angeles.
[10] C. Morice: *Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1919, pp. 25-26.
[11] Hvidt, 1987, p. 250, note 1.
[12] Loize, 1951, no. 616.

Mette Gauguin from 1901. Photo: Laurberg, Copenhagen (former Malingue Archives).

151) and before (*To Make a Bouquet, 62*, and *Sweet Dreams, 75*) contain bird-images suggestive of freedom or dreams. But here the symbolism is different; it has clear sexual connotations, perhaps related to the mythological theme of Leda taken up in the later ceramic work, Gray 63, or the first of the zincographies of 1889. Undoubtedly identified with the artist, whose signature it borders, the animal points its incarnadine beak toward the imposing figure of Mette, who sullenly averts her gaze. No doubt such expressions of aversion were a feature of their life in this period of marital tension.
No less astonishing than the bird-outline is the area of blue (the same colour as the wall) to the right of the bird, beneath Mette's right hand, which holds her fan. Without it, the bird would remain invisible; but it deforms the body of the model, leaves the chair discontinuous, and creates a most unrealistic void in the pictorial space. Few artists of the time would have sanctioned such a thing.
Gauguin very occasionally permitted such hidden allusions to enter his work: examples include *The Vision (308)*, *Public Garden (329)* and even *Interior (164)*.

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late July 1884 (Merlhès 50).
[2] Mette Gauguin to Émile and Louise Schuffenecker, 29 October 1884 (Merlhès XXV).
[3] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 12 June 1896, in V. Merlhès: *Paul Gauguin et Vincent Van Gogh. 1887-1888. Lettres retrouvées. Sources ignorées*, Taravao, 1989, p. 17, and M. Malingue: *La Vie prodigieuse de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1987, pp. 57-59.
[4] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late September 1884 (Merlhès 53).
[5] Pola Gauguin: *Paul Gauguin, mon père*, Paris, 1938, pp. 36, 38, 40, 45, 56, 80.

Documents and bibliography:

Probably: Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late September 1884 (Merlhès 53) announcing the dispatch of eight pictures to the Christiania Autumn Salon: for an extract from this letter, see *Cow (138)*, **D**.
(?) Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 227: 'Thaulow three paintings X'. The absence of a price suggests that the paintings were a gift. The sketchbook does not specify whether the recipient was Hermann or Frits Thaulow. See *Nasturtiums (150)*, **D**.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 95 (repr.).

Exhibitions:

Probably: *Kunstudstilling*, Christiania, autumn 1884, no. 32 (*Portrait*). The pictures in this exhibition are generally identified with those that belonged to Pauline Horst; see *Nasturtiums (150)*, **E**.
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 71.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 16.
Paris, Orangerie, 1949, no. 3.
Oslo, Kunstnerforbundet, 1955, no. 6.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 20.

Provenance:

May have formed part of the consignment sent by Gauguin in late September 1884 to the Christiania Autumn Salon: see *Cow (138)*, **P**.
Pauline Horst, Oslo (on Pauline, one of Gauguin's sisters-in-law, whose first husband was Hermann Thaulow, see *Cow, 138*, **P**.) It is generally thought that the paintings that belonged to Pauline and Hermann Thaulow were acquired by them during the exhibition in 1884.
Bought from Pauline Horst and Ingeborg Brandes by the Oslo Nasjonalgalleriet in 1907. The joint offer by the two sisters was perhaps the result of a mutual debt. Of the four works offered (three paintings and a fan), the Museum acquired only two, this one and *Nasturtiums (150)*.
Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet – 771.

Mette's Collection

Mette had not been raised to luxury – 'when we married, her dowry consisted of some *chemises* and a set of six knives and forks' Gauguin later recorded[1] – and thought she had made a 'good marriage' in becoming a stockbroker's wife. In this, she was initially disappointed; but her hopes were eventually crowned when she found herself in possession of large stock of works whose value was inexorably growing.
Among the pictures brought to Denmark in late 1884 was the large collection of Impressionist works built up by Gauguin during his moneyed years. This was perhaps ceded in autumn 1887 to Mette's brother-in-law Edvard Brandes; see the *Portrait of Ingeborg (44)*, inset. To these were added the works that Mette herself came to fetch in Paris in 1887 and 1892; those which were sent to her, in particular for the 1893 exhibition; and any others that her energetic personal methods allowed her to get her hands on.
Thus Gauguin had acquired a painting of *Breton Women* by Willumsen in exchange for one of his own, and this was exhibited by Kleis in February 1892. Willumsen recounts that 'at the end of the exhibition, Mette […] appeared and sought to recover the painting in lieu of moneys owed her by her husband, who had left Europe without leaving her or her children the slightest economic assistance. The committee immediately agreed to this without informing me, so that when […] Gauguin returned to Paris in August 1893, he was absolutely furious'[2].
Similarly, the manuscript of *Avant et après*, which Gauguin entrusted to Fontainas with the express recommendation that he keep it 'whatever happens'[3], was handed over to Mette in 1907. She wished, she said, to publish it; in fact, she sold it.
It was the same with De Monfreid himself, whom Gauguin had expressly exhorted as follows: 'if I were to die suddenly, I beg you to keep in memory of me all the works deposited in your house; my family will always have more than enough of them'[4]. In 1913, De Monfreid wrote to Pola, 'I made it my duty to hand over to Mme Gauguin everything that I possessed of your father's, with the exception of things given to me and what I had bought from him […] I made strict use of my right only in the one case: the manuscript of Noa Noa'[5].
Few if any of Gauguin's works seem to have remained in Mette's family. We shall never know the number and identity of the paintings that passed through her hands; any computation would inevitably be incomplete.

[1] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 12 June 1896, in M. Malingue: *La Vie prodigieuse de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1987, p. 58.
[2] J.F. Willumsen: *Mine Erindinger*, memoirs recounted to E. Mentze, Copenhagen, 1953, p. 96 [Danish original].
[3] Gauguin to A. Fontainas, February 1903 (Malingue CLXXVII).
[4] Gauguin to De Monfreid, November 1897 (Segalen XXXVIII).
[5] J. Loize: 'Les sept visages de Noa Noa', *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, December 1949, p. 151.

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155
Portrait of Aline

Oil on a panel of wood whose edge has been carved and, in places, coloured.
According to Douglas Cooper, the central part is painted on plaster and the frame shows traces of gilding.
Overall dimensions: 0.20 × 0.14.

Painting: 0.14 × 0.08
Signed and dated upper right, on the 'frame': *p Gauguin / 84*

This little panel is the last portrait that Gauguin made of his favourite child, Aline. It is also the one that best renders her features; in the previous pictures, Gauguin had not obviously sought to achieve a likeness (see the rue Carcel scenes *70*, *74*, *75*, and *77* of 1881, and the double portrait *111*, to which the portrait of a baby, *46*, should perhaps be added). The panel was painted shortly before the end of July, when Mette, Aline and Pola Gauguin all left Rouen for Denmark; we say shortly before, because Aline's hair has had time to grow back since the 1884 photograph (reproduced opposite the *Double Portrait, 111*).

The Decorated Frame

We have already noted Gauguin's interest in the framing of modern works, and the various avant-garde solutions – white, wooden or painted frames – in which simplicity was generally the guiding principle: see *Snow, Rue Carcel (98)*, inset. The carved frame of Aline's portrait is quite different. It seems backward-looking, and is, if anything, closer in spirit to certain Pre-Raphaelite experiments or to the ornamental frames used by Puvis de Chavannes during the 1870s. A further, though remoter, analogy is the black frames favoured by Bernard and Anquetin in the early 1890s. Denis declared these to have been 'borrowed from the good old painters of the 16th century'[1], but they may, in their creators' eyes, have been merely an iconoclastic inversion of the famous white frame.
Around the same time, the Neo-Impressionists began to use frames that extended rather than isolated the painting. Fénéon observed one such at the house of Dubois-Pillet: 'frank variations on violet ran round the crown-shaped frame'. 'The frame ceases to be neutral and takes on an existence of its own. Is it painted to set off the picture or vice versa?' he asked. Seurat 'simply indicates on his white frame the reactions of the contiguous colours', 'dotting it with orange or blue'[2], Fénéon noted. And he went to suggest that the origins of the decorated frame were to be sought in a diversification of the Impressionists' coloured frames (see *Snow, 98*, inset). Such 'ornamented borders', giving 'a notion of the tonality of the picture in the arabesques that surround it' had, a few years later, become the 'flowery frames, spotted frames, frames embroidered by loving hands – Messieurs Ranson, Bonnard, Denis – pretty things'[3] praised by Louis; self-praise, since the pen-name Louis concealed Maurice Denis himself.
Gauguin's own innovations included a *pastel with ceramic frame* deposited with Boussod in March 1893[4]; we know too that, in 1889, he liked De Haan's portrait of Marie Henry so much that he 'he made a frame and decorated it with his own hands'[5]. Alas, neither has survived.

[1] P. Louis [M. Denis]: 'Notes sur l'exposition des indépendants', *La Revue blanche*, April 1892, p. 233.
[2] F. Fénéon: 'Le Néo-impressionnisme à la IVe exposition des artistes indépendants', *L'Art moderne*, (Brussels), 15 April 1888, p. 122.
[3] P. Louis [M. Denis], April 1892, p. 233.
[4] J. Loize: *Les Amitiés du peintre Georges-Daniel de Monfreid…*, Paris, 1951, no. 138, p. 94.
[5] C. Chassé: *Gauguin et le groupe de Pont-Aven*, Paris, 1921, p. 47.

Gauguin and the Applied Arts

The carved and painted portrait of Aline, the chest made in the same year, and an earlier piece of furniture (Gray 5 and 8) are among the first products of Gauguin's lifelong penchant for the applied arts. He tended to fill his surroundings with his own decorated pots, plates, canes, clogs, frames, fan-holders, barrels, and with carved and painted architectural elements, such as door jambs and painted-glass windows. He was a man of ready hands, and his energies flowed spontaneously into such things. Maufra described him as 'always at work, he was forever carving a piece of wood, kneading clay, drawing on books or on tables'[1]. Schuffenecker similarly reports that 'In his hands, any material was transformed into art. I've seen him make jewellery out of stovepipes'[2]. Gauguin himself wrote in 1892, 'To think that I was born for an art-industry […] Stained-glass, furniture, porcelain, etc… these are my fundamental aptitudes, much more so than painting as such'[3].
These works belong to their age – to the contemporary movement toward reform in the decorative arts. Western handcrafts, bastardised by industrialisation, had been relegated to the status of minor arts. Gauguin himself, in the year that he painted this portrait, inveighed against his own mechanised era, which 'weans one of the habit of hand-made things and replaces them with things regular and precise'[4].
Now the Union centrale des art décoratifs had just been founded (1883) to be followed in 1887 by the École of the same name. Japanese objects were widely admired, and their example was one of the main inspirations of the movement. Meanwhile, in England, the followers of William Morris were producing high-quality craft works. Morris was one of the first to encourage artists to create everyday objects and Gauguin was undoubtedly familiar with his views, of which this little painting with its carved surround is perhaps a distant off-shoot.

[1] M. Maufra: *Souvenirs*, unpublished manuscript, p. 375.
[2] C. Chassé: *Gauguin et le groupe de Pont-Aven*, Paris, 1921, p. 46, note 1.
[3] Gauguin to De Monfreid, August 1892 (Joly-Segalen VI).
[4] Draft of a letter, late 1884 (sale, Geneva, Christie's, 14 May 2001, no. 94).

Aline

Born on 24 December 1877 in the impasse Frémin house, Aline was the second of Gauguin's five children and his only daughter. She was also the one who most resembled him: 'the same pronounced but delicate profile and slightly heavy lids, the same long, narrow shape of the head and slightly melancholic cast of mouth; they were both out of the same mould', her brother Pola wrote, 'She is so very like him. No doubt in character too'[1]. Mette confirmed that Aline 'is rather delicate of build and greatly resembles Paul in point of majesty'[2].

Aline. Detail of a photograph, c. 1890.
Photo: former Malingue Archives.

Her father was lost to her when she was seven and a half, and Aline saw him again only in March 1891, when Gauguin came to Copenhagen for a last visit to his wife and children. The meeting unlocked Aline's adolescent heart. She went, says Pola, 'from violent emotion to a shyness full of reserve. She understood, better than any of us, the joy of having her father there, because she had suffered more than anyone from his absence. She had often felt ashamed when people asked who and where her father was; and her kin rarely allowed his name to pass their lips in her presence'[3]. 'Do you remember three years ago when you said you'd be my wife', Gauguin wrote to her in late 1893[4]. In the same year he composed the *Cahier pour Aline*, his spiritual testament and an act of love by which he sought to present himself to her and bequeath her his thoughts.
'Until she was fourteen, Aline was brought up in a girl's school run by one of Mette's aunts', Pola notes. 'She had grown up to become a pretty and a witty young woman, but the malice of the Gads – Mette's two brothers, Theodor and Aage, and her two sisters, Ingeborg and Phyl*, spoke of Gauguin as lunatic and a criminal – depressed her. The hostility she showed her mother lasted for a long time; she blamed her for Paul's leaving. Then, little by little, she understood[5]'. Mette's letters also record Aline's return from boarding school – she was in fact fifteen at the time[6] – and confirm Aline's reconciliation with her: 'Aline in particular is very kind and affectionate, she wants nothing more than to be helpful, and is sad to see me cry'[7]. By the following year, she seemed to have completely regained her calm: 'Aline is taller than me and very elegant, a quite excessively proper young lady', Mette observed[8].
For Gauguin, though distant, Aline was a pillar of his emotional life. But their affection never again received physical expression: Aline caught cold while leaving a ball and died of pneumonia on 19 January 1897 at the age of nineteen. She never saw the *Cahier pour Aline*. Many of Gauguin's letters of that year express the sense of revolt and depression triggered by her death. 'I have just lost my daughter, I no longer love God. Her name was Aline, like my mother […] Her tomb, there, the flowers – that's all just show. Her tomb is here, beside me. My tears are the flowers; living tears, living flowers[9].

[1] Pola Gauguin: *Paul Gauguin, mon père*, Paris, 1938, p. 240.
[2] Mette Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 11 February 1893, copy in the collection of the Papeete Museum.
[3] Pola Gauguin, 1938, p. 137.
[4] Gauguin to Aline Gauguin, late 1893 (Malingue CXLVI).
[5] M. Malingue: 'Encore du nouveau sur Gauguin', *L'Oeil*, October 1959, p. 32.
[6] Mette Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 15 September 1893, copy in the collection of the Papeete Museum.
[7] Mette Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 20 January 1894, copy in the collection of the Papeete Museum.
[8] Mette Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 6 May 1895, in M. Malingue: *Lettres de Gauguin à sa femme et à ses amis*, Paris, 1946, p. 325.
[9] Gauguin to Mette, August 1897 (Malingue CLXV).

Aline, drawing, 1884.
Private collection.
Photo: Christie's.

A drawing of Aline posing in an upright chair (the chair also appears in the portraits *153* and *154*) portrays her from the same angle. Much larger and seemingly less spontaneous than this painting, it may have served as a preliminary study.
No doubt because the subject of this portrait was so dear to him, Gauguin gave it a special frame; painting and frame were conceived together, and made of a single panel. Its centre is painted and its raised edge is carved.

This unorthodox procedure makes the portrait into a sort of 'painting-object', at once precious and rustic in character, akin to the curious carved chest (Gray 8), half-sculpture, half-functional object, which Gauguin made in the same year. These two pieces in a material long abandoned by academic sculptors – but which Gauguin loved – were inspired by his taste for the applied arts. The taste was spontaneous, but was encouraged by the renaissance of interest in this field. The search for a suitable surround for the painted surface pertains to certain contemporary experiments with framing (see insets).

Exhibitions:
London, Leicester Galleries, 1924, no. 49.

Provenance:
Leicester Galleries, London, c. 1924.
Bought from Leicester Galleries by P. Tudor-Hart, London, c. 1924.
Sale, Catherine J. Tudor-Hart (deceased), London, Sotheby's, 5 December 1973, no. 35 (to Simon Wejntrob, Paris).

156

156
Portrait of Isidore Gauguin

Oil. 0.270 × 0.185
W29

Pola Gauguin testified that this is a portrait of Gauguin's uncle, though Pola scarcely knew him, and mistakenly refers to him as 'Henri'.
Isidore Fleury was born in Orléans on 5 April 1819; he was five years younger than Clovis Gauguin, Paul's father. Their parents were Guillaume Gauguin, the scion of a market-gardening family and himself an Orléans grocer with a shop in the Saint-Marceau suburb (where most of the family was based), and Magdeleine Élisabeth Juranville, the daughter of a local turner and embosser; they were married on 14 April 1813[1].
Isidore and his brother grew up in this simple but stable family governed sagely by their father. The grocery seems to have prospered; Guillaume continued in business till his sixtieth year in the early 1840s. He had also taken pains to diversify his sources of income. He had been lending his profits to individual borrowers from the late 1820s on, and the interest from these loans, combined with the rent from houses and land inherited from his parents, eventually, it seems, gave him an annual income of around FF 2,500.

The man of independent means ■ Having adopted a more decorous profession than his father, Isidore was a jeweller by his twenty-sixth year and so remained until 1852. But the following year, after his father had divided his assets between his sons, he was defined as a 'landowner'; by 1861, when he was forty-two, official documents had begun to refer to him as 'man of independent means'[2], and this designation continued till his death.
Isidore seems to have inherited property and assets worth more than FF 59,000 from his father and grand-parents. And no sooner was his father in his grave than he sold all his own property, to the very last house, so that he finished his days as a tenant.
That a son of the land should thus divest himself of real estate is surprising, especially since he seems to have obtained a rather low price for his holdings. But he was no doubt gambling on obtaining a higher return from stocks and shares. Everything suggests that, having given up his trade as a jeweller, he now sought to become a gentleman living on his income.

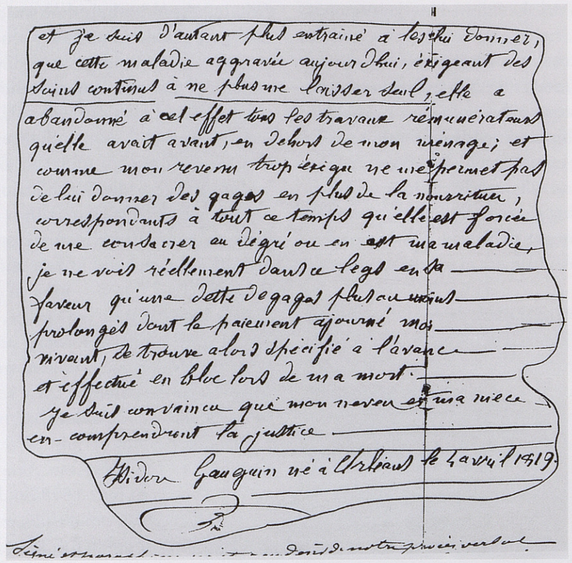
Of the two brothers, Isidore was the less creative, but the republican convictions that he shared with Clovis produced a moment of heroism: he took part in the occupation of the Orléans town hall in the aftermath of the 2 December 1851 *coup d'état* and was, at the age of thirty one, sent to Orléans prison. Indeed, he narrowly escaped being deported to Algeria. Fortunately for him, his sentence was reduced and he was allowed home 'under surveillance'. Perhaps this flamboyant episode taught him a lesson; the rest of his life was much less dramatic, and there is nothing to suggest that audacity was otherwise a notable feature of his character.

A good uncle ■ There is no indication that, on his liberation, Isidore returned to his own home in rue Saint-Maclou. In 1853, we find him at the family home on quai Tudelle, at the side of his ailing father, who granted him power of attorney; in this rather patriarchal family, Isidore now took on the role of the capable son and his signature of that period testifies to growing assurance.
The family home was in fact two houses, 25 (formerly 31) quai Neuf and 10 rue Tudelle, which were separated by a garden court. Guillaume had handed it on to his heirs in 1853, maintaining only usufruct for himself, and it belonged in fact to Paul and Marie Gauguin. It was here that Clovis' widow, accompanied by Marceline Marie (eight) and Paul (seven), naturally came on their return from Peru in late 1854 and early 1855. A part of the house was redecorated specially for them; when Guillaume died, shortly after their arrival, bills for this work were still unpaid.

On his father's death, Isidore was appointed deputy guardian by a family council held on 20 April 1855 and was exceedingly conscientious. He was, though childless, the only surviving man of the family. Did he seek to impose his own authority? Or did he leave discipline to Aline? At all events, he inspired considerable affection in his nephew, who later spoke of him as 'his kind uncle from Orléans whom we called Zizi because his name was Isidore and he was so small'. Paul was also fond of the quai Tudelle house with its 'big garden', one corner of which featured young trees that Gauguin never forgot, a 'walnut' and a 'fig'[3]. They shared the house for a few years only; by December 1858, Isidore had moved to rue Dauphine, and by July 1859 had settled at 74 rue Saint-Marceau. Aline was still at quai Tudelle in June 1859 but left soon after for Paris. Paul, meanwhile, was placed in a boarding school in the Saint-Marceau suburb in autumn 1859 where Isidore probably continued to keep an eye on him.

Gauguin had no cousins, lived at odds with his sister, and never knew his only other uncle (his mother's elder brother), the unstable Ernest Chazal. Later in life, his uncle was the only family relation he acknowledged, and he seems to have been fond of him to the last.
Thus in late July 1884, he told Pissarro, 'My uncle came to see us and had photos made of the children to take away'[4]. In 1890, he asked Mette to send Isidore some recent photographs of the children: 'My uncle must still be living at 7 rue Endelle [Tudelle], since he is constant in his habits […] and I should like you to send him these portraits which will give him great pleasure'[5]. Shortly afterwards, he returned to the point: 'Have you sent portrait* to my uncle?'[6]

A modest old age ■ Isidore died a bachelor at 3 rue Tudelle in the Orléans suburb where he had been born. (The 1886 Census found him already at that address.) He lived off a meagre independent income of around FF 2,000 per annum, approximately the earnings of a petty bourgeois shopkeeper,



Testament d'Isidore, 18 août 1893, détail. Collection Archives départementales du Loiret.

craftsman or clerical worker. His was a simply furnished apartment, with one room in addition to kitchen and bathroom; it was decorated with collections of shells, stones and plants, along with mushrooms and groups of birds under glass. His largest possession was a *Larousse encyclopédique.*

In the last days of his life, he was afflicted with 'bronchitis, pulmonary congestion and swollen legs'[7], and inclined somewhat to 'sadness and depression'[8]. He died in his home on 8 September 1983 at the age of seventy-four; he was cared for till the end by a faithful housekeeper to whom he could not afford to pay a proper wage.

Isidore's last will and testament was drawn up three weeks before his death in a still firm hand that speaks of great simplicity of heart, and even a degree of naivety. The testament is one of very few documentary proofs of the existence of Paul's kind uncle. Isidore had not, as his industrious ancestors had, increased his fortune; indeed, it had decreased by some FF 20,000. He nevertheless left his housekeeper the sum of FF 4,000 in payment of her services and 'primarily to thank her for the peace of mind she granted me by her entire trustworthiness'. To his nephews he bequeathed a few items of furniture along with railway debentures, Italian state bonds and gold altogether worth FF 36,500 to be divided equally between them[9]. Gauguin's refusal to share this with Mette led to their final estrangement.

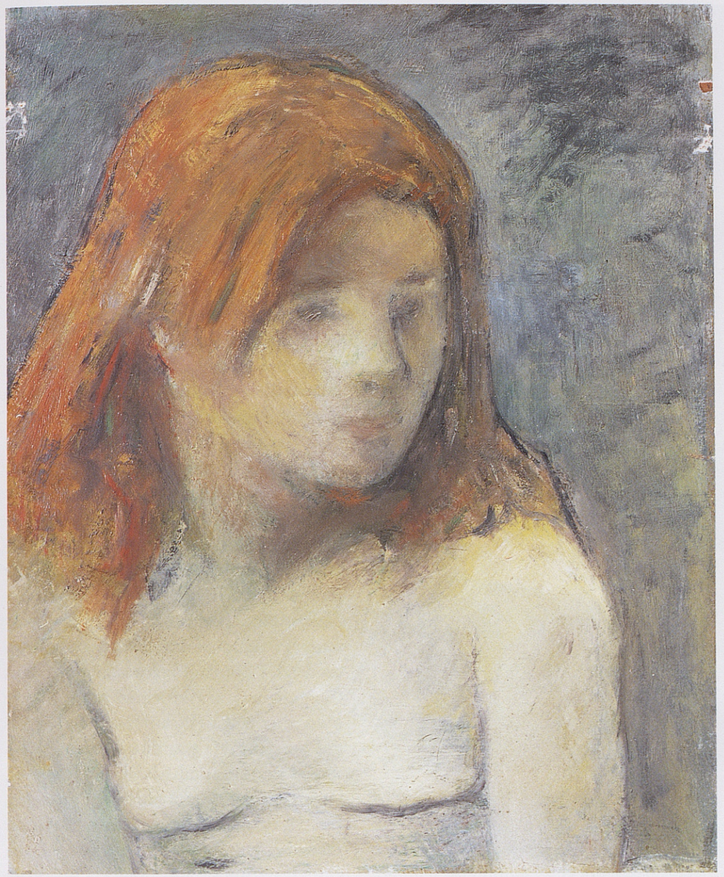
It is convenient to locate this study in 1884, when we know that Isidore visited Gauguin; its technique does not allow precise dating.

[1] For the sources of the family information in what follows, see Chronology, paternal line.
[2] 1861 Census.
[3] Paul Gauguin: *Avant et après*, 1903, p. 193.
[4] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late July 1884 (Merlhès 50).
[5] Gauguin to Mette, December 1890 (Malingue CXIV).
[6] Gauguin to Mette, January 1891 (Malingue CXV).
[7] Isidore Gauguin, handwritten Testament, August 1893.
[8] Gauguin to Mette, December 1890 (Malingue CXIV).
[9] Isidore Gauguin: Testament (August) and Inventory (September, 1893).

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 29 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 9.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Pola Gauguin.
Emery Reves, Roquebrune, c. 1950.
Given by Wendy and Emery Reves in 1985 to:
Dallas (Texas), Dallas Museum of Art, The Wendy and Emery Reves Collection – 1985.R.29.



157

Nude Study, pastel. Photo: Sotheby's.

157
Bust of Nude Girl

Oil on wood. 0.24 × 0.20

This young woman also posed nude for a pastel that portrays her seated on a bed from exactly the same angle[1]. The study on paper is, curiously, bigger than this oil sketch, though the same is true of the study for the *Portrait of Aline (155).*

The technique of this work suggests a date between 1882-1884. We know nothing about the model. Did she also pose for the wood carving *La Toilette* (Gray 7, reproduced on page 424) in 1882? If so, this painting would predate Gauguin's stay in Rouen.

[1] Sale, Sotheby's, London, 2 December 1987, no. 443.

Documents and bibliography:
Probably: E. Hannover, reviewing the Copenhagen exhibition, *Politiken*, 26 March 1893 [in H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin et le Danemark', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956 (published 1958), p. 80:] records the sale of a *Study Head* to an individual buyer on the opening day of the exhibition (see E, below).

Exhibitions:
Traditionally, the painting is thought to have been exhibited as follows: *Den Frie Udstilling*, Free Exhibitions Building, Copenhagen, 1893, no. 125 (*Study of a head*, 1882, 0.26 × 0.21). An annotated copy of the catalogue indicates a price, 50 [Danish crowns], and the name of the buyer, which is, alas, illegible, but which seems not to be Skovgaard.
Gauguin og Van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 10 (not exhibited).

Provenance:
Sold by Mette Gauguin to an individual in March 1893, see E above.
The Danish painter Joakim Skovgaard, Copenhagen.
Niels Skovgaard, Manchester, 1933.
Morton Downey, New York.
Sale [Mrs Downey], New York, Sotheby's, 10 May 1989, no. 319.

158

158
The Mulatress, Copy from Delacroix

Canvas. 0.45 × 0.37
W27

This picture is a free and perhaps unfinished copy of a painting by Delacroix, *Aline, the Mulatress*, in the Musée Fabre in Montpellier[1]; the painting formed part of the collection bequeathed to the town in 1868 by Alfred Bruyas.
Gauguin wrote in *Avant et après* that he had twice visited the Musée Fabre: 'As a young man, I made a trip to the south of France and to Montpellier where I visited this famous museum built and donated with his entire collection by Monsieur Brias* […] the intimate collection of Brias, that is, a selection of (once) revolutionary painters […] Lots of Delacroix studies and sketches for his great decorative paintings […] Many years later, I returned with Vincent to visit this museum again'[2]. A letter from Vincent Van Gogh places this second visit in December 1888: 'Yesterday Gauguin and I went to Montpellier to see the museum and above all the Brias* room […] There, there is another Delacroix, a study of a Mulatress (that Gauguin once copied)'[3].

Revolutionary mission ■ Gauguin's first trip to Montpellier left few traces since it was a clandestine mission on behalf of Spanish revolutionaries.
Supporters of the first Spanish Republic who went into exile after Alfonso XII came to the Spanish throne in 1875 took refuge in various cities – Paris, London, Geneva and Bordeaux – and set about preparing their return to power. The central figure in this movement was Manuel Ruiz Zorilla, who moved between these outposts of Spanish republicanism. Gauguin identified strongly with his Hispanic ancestry and knew the Spanish milieux in Paris well. He is said to have been put in contact with the revolutionaries by Adolphe Calzado, the son-in-law of his guardian Gustave Arosa[4]. The revolutionaries were in any case not very difficult to meet. Edmond de Goncourt spoke of the '[revolutionary] potential' of these milieux 'being entirely destroyed by the private dining-rooms of Paris restaurants', comparing them to 'savages': 'the only thing they want from civilisation is fire-water'[5].
In any event, Gauguin's republican convictions (a family tradition), his taste for flamboyant causes (inherited from his grandmother, Flora Tristan), and his knowledge of Spanish all helped to inspire his commitment. A further incentive may have been monetary; Zorilla's wife was very rich and Gauguin may, as Perruchot suggests[6], have been extremely well paid for these dangerous missions. He was thus entrusted with several secret missions: the first we know of, in August 1883, took him to Cerbère, the last (1886) to Bordeaux (see *Bordeaux Harbour, 213)*. In the summer of 1885, he visited revolutionary factions in London, as he implies in a letter to Mette[7].

E. Delacroix: *Aline the Mulatress*.
Montpellier, Musée Fabre.

But his main contribution was perhaps the long trip he undertook in 1884. The Cortes had been dissolved, new elections were decreed in Spain for 27 April 1884, and there was hope of a general uprising. Gauguin wrote to Pissarro about his activities. In a first letter, he told him 'I have just been on a longish trip for the Spanish painting that I told you about a year ago: as you know, it didn't come off'[8]. In a second, he said 'I've just spent a fortnight on the road and I shall probably [be*] forced to do more travelling […] I had a lot to tell you about this recent business I've been dealing with on my travels; it hasn't been successful for now but the seed has been sown […] I can't entrust to a letter things that require discretion'[9].
This mysterious voyage seems to have taken Gauguin to Montpellier. Merlhès has discovered that, on 26 April, a close friend of Gauguin's, Bertaux, was in Montpellier, bearing instructions to buy a boat (no doubt chosen by Gauguin), with the probable goal of smuggling Zorilla into Spain by sea[10]. Gauguin must have made the present copy in late April or early 1884, during this voyage.
Delacroix was fond of this very spontaneous-seeming painting and long had it in his own possession. It portrays a woman probably of North African origin, though she shows no sign of black blood; the terms 'negro' and 'mulatto' were used indiscriminately of any skin colour less than perfectly white. The decision to copy the painting marks the first sign in Gauguin of an interest in non-European women. Was he aware that this 'mulatress' bore the same name as his mother?

[1] Inv. 868.1.36.
[2] Paul Gauguin: *Avant et après*, 1903, pp. 183-184.
[3] Vincent to Theo van Gogh, c. 19 December 1888 (564, D).
[4] Merlhès, 1984, pp. 326, note 18, and 388, note 119 (D).
[5] Edmond de Goncourt: *Journal des Goncourt*, 25 August 1888.
[6] H. Perruchot: *La Vie de Gauguin*, Paris, 1961, p. 93.
[7] Gauguin to Mette, 19 September 1885 (Merlhès 84).
[8] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, c. 8 May 1884 (Merlhès 47).
[9] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, c. mid-May 1884 (Merlhès 48).
[10] V. Merlhès, 1984, p. 394, note 134 (D), and Merlhès: *Paul Gauguin et Vincent Van Gogh. 1887-1888. Sources Ignorées. Lettres retrouvées*, 1989, p. 16. Exceptionally, Merlhès does not reveal his sources.

Documents and bibliography:
Vincent to Theo van Gogh, c. 19 December 1888, (564), see above.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 27 (repr.).
V. Jirat-Wasiutynski: 'Paul Gauguin's Self-Portraits and the Oviri', *The Art Quarterly*, Summer 1979, vol II, no. 2, p. 176.
V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 394, note 134 (1).

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin.
Pola Gauguin.
Sold by Pola Gauguin to the painter Henrik Lind, Sweden, in 1916.
Sale of Swedish collector, Zurich, Bukowski, 10 November 1983, no. 3 (bought in).

159
Head of a Cat

Canvas. 0.12 × 0.09
Signed lower right: *p Gauguin*
W130

We place this sketch in 1884 on the grounds of its presence in a Rouen collection. Is it, perhaps, the cat held in Pola's arms in an 1885 pastel (*W135*)?

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 130 (repr.).

Provenance:
Paul Desforges, a Rouen dental surgeon; he was born in Rouen on 10 March 1884 to working-class parents and died there on 2 May 1967. He was too young to have known Gauguin and we do not know how this sketch came into his possession. He may perhaps have inherited it from the family of his father, François Joseph Desforges, a mechanic, or that of his wife, Germaine Aimée Félicie Ledain, b. 1887, daughter of the notary Napoléon Charles Ledain.
Mrs Frank J. Gould, New York and Cannes.
Sale, The Estate of Florence J. Gould, New York, Sotheby's, 25 April 1985, no. 177.
Private collection, USA, 1985.

159

Denmark (November 1884-June 1885)

In late November 1884, Gauguin joined his wife and children in Copenhagen; they had arrived earlier in the month, and had at first been accommodated by Mette's mother, at 29 Frederiksberg Allé in a residential area in south west Copenhagen. An apartment was quickly found for them in Gammel Kongevej, the main street of this recently built-up area, one block away from Frederiksberg Allé.

In late November, they moved into 105 Gammel Kongevej accompanied by a maid, Louise Jensine Jensen (Aline may have been staying with Mette's sister, Pylle, in Norway). It was a seven-room ground-floor flat with kitchen, and gave onto the street[1]. A little sketch by Gauguin to his old friend Favre – see page 190 – gives an impression of this building, whose interior is very likely the one depicted in *164*. It cost the Gauguins 400 crowns to stay for just less than six months. They then moved, for motives unknown, to the third floor of 51 Nørregade (photos of 51 Nørregade, Gammel Kongevey and 29 Frederiksberg Allé can be found in the Chronology for 1884 and 1885 and opposite *160*).

Gauguin found his new environment very appealing. Within days of moving in, he wrote 'Copenhagen is wonderfully picturesque and where I am living there are very characteristic and pretty things to paint. At the moment it is 10 degrees below and there are sleighs on the roads'; he added 'I'm furious that I can't paint for now, I hope in a little while to be able to send a number of interesting things to Paris'[2].

The hope was not fulfilled; Gauguin's stay in Denmark was not productive. Outdoor painting was ruled out by the temperature, and he managed only two snowscapes painted from nature that winter. But it was mainly financial and family matters that thwarted Gauguin. He had to set about selling the products of Dillies, whose Scandinavian representative he now was; and the hostility of his Danish family perhaps drained him of much of his energy (see *Self-Portrait, 165*). Lack of cash was no small obstacle: 'I don't have the money to buy paints so I've confined myself to drawing', he confessed in late May[3].

In seven months, he produced a mere seventeen paintings. This includes three enigmatic scenes that were probably painted in Denmark (see *175*, inset, *176* and *177*) and two still lifes of indeterminate season. Very few pictures were painted during the winter. The exceptions include *Winter (162)* and *Interior (164)*. Nor was it a period of technical innovation. But the Danish spring seems to have marked a creative thaw. If the five paintings mentioned above are indeed Danish, Gauguin painted a good ten paintings between late April (the earliest Copenhagen trees might come into leaf) and mid-June, when he left. After the bleak midwinter, spring marked the outset of a fecund period. Perhaps aware that he must inevitably leave his family behind, Gauguin seems to have taken refuge in painting and experienced a liberation of his creative impulse.

In these spring studies of the Danish parks, his style has a renewed confidence. And some of the still lifes show an interest in space and light rarely so openly manifested since 1877-1878. It was to result in some strikingly successful representations of depth and transparency in 1885 and 1886.

Quite early on, the curly *G* in Gauguin's signature was banished, and his initial now became a capital.

Given that there are so few Danish works, we have presented them in an order governed more by chronology than by genre (landscape, portrait, and still life).

[1] H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin et le Danemark', *GBA*, 1956, special Gauguin number (published 1958), p. 66.
[2] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late November/December 1884 (Merlhès 57).
[3] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late May 1885 (Merlhès 79).

◀ *Self-Portrait at the Easel (165)*, detail.

The Gammelkongevej house, detail of a page of sketches. Private collection. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

160

160
Snow, Copenhagen

Canvas. 0.73 × 0.60
Signed, dated and dedicated lower left:
à mon ami Théodore / P. Gauguin – 84
W99

This view certainly dates from December and is more or less contemporary with the letter in which Gauguin noted that 'where I am living there are very characteristic and pretty things to paint. At the moment it is 10 degrees below and there are sleighs on the streets'[1].
The freezing cold outside combined with the very informal nature of this view over a residential quarter leave one wondering if it was not painted from one of the windows of 105 Gammel Kongevej (or perhaps from Mette's mother's house at 29 Frederiksberg Allé).
This work was presented to the elder of Mette's two brothers, on whom see *Peonies (145)*, which is similarly dedicated to Theodor. The dedication is to a 'friend' and Theodor seems to have welcomed Gauguin on his arrival. But Pola Gauguin tells us that he was later at one with his brothers and sisters in describing Gauguin as 'a madman and a criminal'[2] (cf. *Portrait of Aline, 155*, inset on Aline).

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late November or early December (Merlhès 57).
[2] M. Malingue: 'Encore du nouveau sur Gauguin', *L'Oeil*, October 1959, p. 32.

Documents and bibliography:
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 224 'Théodore Gad (Snow) given'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 99 (repr.).

161

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Kleis, 1917, no. 7.
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 34.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 25.

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to Theodor Gad during Gauguin's stay in Copenhagen.
Nini Gad (Theodor's widow), Copenhagen, 1917.
Emilie (born Gad, daughter of the above) and Thorwald Madsen, Copenhagen, 1935: the picture was sold in 1943.
Kai Grunth, Copenhagen, c. 1948.

161
Skaters in Frederiksberg Park

Canvas. 0.65 × 0.54
W148

Frederiksberg Park is very close to both 105 Gammel Kongevej, where the Gauguin family lived between November 1884 and April 1885, and 29 Frederiksberg Allé, where Mette's mother lived. In fact, Frederiksberg Allé is the central access road to the northern part of the park, amid whose landscape of ornamental lakes this view was painted.
The snow seems to have melted and it would seem that the temperature had risen sufficiently for Gauguin to be able to work out of doors; this is perhaps the only outdoor winter study, since the other scene from nature (*160*) may have been painted from a window.

Documents and bibliography:
H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin et le Danemark', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956 (published 1958), p. 72.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 148 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Very probably: Exhibition of the Moderne Kunst Kring, Suasso Municipal Museum [future Stedelijk Museum of Modern Art], Amsterdam, 1912, no. 12 (*Park in Copenhagen during the Winter*).
Palm Beach (Florida), Society of the Four Arts, 1956, no. 1.
Coral Gables (Florida), Joe and Emily Lowe Art Gallery, 1956, no. 1.
Chicago (Illinois), The Art Institute of Chicago, and New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1959, no. 3.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Cincinnati Art Museum, 1971, no. 9.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 21.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Emil Gauguin.
(?) Knoedler, New York.
Chester H. Johnson Galleries, Chicago (Illinois).
Sale, New York, Anderson Galleries, 14 November 1934, no. 82 (*Frederiksberg Park*).
Gaston Taieb, New York.
Irving Mitchell Felt, New York, c. 1958.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 16 November 1983, no. 33 (to the Ny Carlsbergfondet).
Donated by Ny Carlsbergfondet in 1984 to:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – IN 3213.

162

162
WINTER

Canvas. 0.72 × 1.01
Signed and dated lower left:
P. Gauguin 85
W140

This composition is clearly a studio painting; it brings together various elements almost all of them extracted from works that Gauguin had brought with him to Copenhagen.
The major source is a study executed in 1880, *Snow at Vaugirard I (56)*, a classic Impressionist landscape here transformed into a chillier scene by the introduction of figures. (Gauguin did not have the second *Snow at Vaugirard* in Denmark.)

C. Pissarro: *Winter, Return from the Fair*, fan (Pissarro-Venturi 1626, former Gauguin collection). Paris, Musée Marmottan.

A. Guillaumin: *Gardens and Old Houses*, c. 1878 (Serret-Fabiani 67, former Gauguin collection). Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

The figures are all adapted from works that Gauguin had to hand. The woman carrying firewood and another standing opposite her, in profile, are borrowed from a Pissarro fan that had been in Gauguin's collection for more than five years, *Winter, Return from the Fair* (Pissarro-Venturi 1626). The man standing on the right comes from a Guillaumin canvas, *Gardens and Old Houses* (Serret-Fabiani 67); it too formed part of Gauguin's collection, and is now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Finally, the woman in the light-coloured shawl is reminiscent of a figure in *Snow, Rue Carcel II (98)* of 1883. Gauguin had based *98* on an earlier landscape study, to which he added figures, a proceeding it thus shares with the current painting.
Only the right hand side of this painting, with the square house and snow-covered roof, reflects Gauguin's Danish surroundings.
That Gauguin wanted to paint the snow, we know from his letter to Pissarro[1]. As the freezing temperatures precluded open-air work (of the two other snow motifs of this winter, *160* was probably painted from a window and *161* during a thaw), Gauguin turned to previous winter compositions to satisfy this desire.
For him, winter was in any case a season of repeats and 'collage' works. In 1885, he several times made use of his own earlier works. Examples include *Tree-Lined Road, Rouen, II (163)*. He also painted a number of fans whose motifs were taken either from his own paintings or from Impressionist works in his collection. Isolated as an artist and alienated from his family, he may have found it consoling to return to works that were both company and manifesto. On repeats in general, see *Quarries (86)*, inset.

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late November or early December 1884 (Merlhès 57), cited in the introduction to this period.

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Gauguin to Mette, c. 20 December 1885 (Merlhès 91): 'I thought that Mad[e] Adler was going to buy the big snow effect from you?' (but this could equally refer to *98* of 1883).
(?) If this is the 'big snow effect' exhibited in Copenhagen in 1889, see *98*, **D**, Madsen review.
W. George: 'The Georg Brandes Collection' [The first name Georg seems to be an error for Edvard Brandes, see *Osny Street, 99*, **D**], *Forms* [1933], no. 31, p. 357 (repr.).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 140 (repr.)
M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin, the Collector', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, pp. 591 (fig. 24: reproduces the Guillaumin work); 599 (fig. 51: reproduces the Pissarro fan); 604-605 (on the Brandes collection); 607, no. 18 (on the Guillaumin); 612, no. 43 (on the Pissarro); 615 (on the Brandes collection).

Exhibitions:
(?) [*Exhibition of French and Scandinavian Impressionists*], Copenhagen, Kunstforeningen, 1889 (cf. *98*, which might equally be the 'big snow effect' in this exhibition).
Tableaux de Gauguin, Pissarro, Sisley, Forain, etc. provenant d'une collection privée [the Brandes collection], Paris, galerie Zak, February 1933: see the review by W. George, **D** above.
Fransk Utstilling, Oslo, Kunsternes Hus, 1946, no. 28 (*Winter Landscape from Brittany*, 72 × 101). Oslo, Kunsterforbundet, 1955, no. 9.

Provenance:
Edvard Brandes (see article by W. George, **D**); since it does not appear among the works whose direct sale to the Brandes family Gauguin noted in his sketchbook of 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952, p. 227), this painting perhaps formed part of the group of paintings 'sold' by Mette Gauguin to her brother-in-law Edvard Brandes (see *Portrait of Ingeborg*, *44*, inset).
Brandes died in 1931 and his collection was entrusted to the Galerie Zak in Paris, though it may simply have been on deposit there.
The presence of this work in the 1946 Oslo exhibition may indicate that it was in Norwegian hands at that date.
Private collection, Oslo, c. 1955.

163
Tree-Lined Road, Rouen II

Canvas. 0.57 × 0.40
Signed and dated lower left:
P. Gauguin 85
W149

163

This slightly smaller repeat of *125* was painted before March 1885, when Gauguin presented it for inclusion in the Charlottenborg exhibition. It may have been painted for that exhibition, since, unlike many other repeats, it is not a variant undertaken as a sort of stylistic exercise (see *Quarries, 86*, inset) but an astonishingly faithful copy probably intended to fix Gauguin's memory of a painting he particularly liked.

In both its Cézannesque composition and its Impressionist technique, Gauguin must have thought it representative of an avant-garde that he wished to promote: 'I meet painters who say that they don't see nature the way that we do, which doesn't stop them consulting us', he wrote on 17 March 1885, 'The other day I surprised one of them painting a picture for the exhibition with a painting of mine that he'd borrowed, which he doesn't understand, it's true (so he says). You can just imagine it, impressionist colours with academic draughtsmanship [...] I am more passionate than ever about the artistic struggle. I shall be marked out here, known to everyone in Copenhagen, and for friends I have the young painters and for enemies the old fossils and other incompetents who fear me like the plague, while I lay into them with all my might'[1].

Karl Madsen's witness demonstrates that this was one of the works that introduced Impressionism to Scandinavia. In 1889, one of his columns speaks of the painter Theodor Philipsen, to whom Gauguin had given the work: 'for a while,' he says, [Philipsen] compared his own works with a Gauguin picture – which had been refused by the spring exhibition committee – in order to discover the flaws and weaknesses of his own paintings'[2]. Madsen also left some indication of the advice that Gauguin was dispensing: 'he criticised the interpretation of the picture begun by Philipsen, declaring it clumsy and stolid. In order to give an impression of light and vibrant colours, he suggested different means: the use of long, slender brushes and short, firm strokes. One had to be sure that the brush was loaded with colour in order obtain a precise, rich, firm hue on the canvas'[3].

The painter Theodor Philipsen, probably during the 1870s. Photo: Bent Mann (Wildenstein Institute Archives).

On repeats painted in Denmark, see *Winter (162)*. A fan of the same period also exhibits the motif of the Rouen road, see *Tree-Lined Road (125)*.

[1] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 17 March 1885 (Merlhès 75).
[2] Quoted in H.P. Rohde, 1962 (**D**, Danish original).
[3] Rohde, 1962 (**D**).

Documents and bibliography:

Admission slip for the Charlottenborg Spring Exhibition, 13 March 1885: reproduced in H.P. Rohde, 1962, below.
This may be the picture borrowed by a painter, mentioned in the letter of 17 March 1885 (Merlhès 75) cited above.
Gauguin's sketchbook c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 225: 'Philipsen Rouen Landscape given'.
K. Madsen: 'Theodor Philipsen', *Af Dagens Kronike*, November 1889 (in H.P. Rohde, 1962, below).
D. Sutton: 'Notes on Paul Gauguin apropos a Recent Exhibition', *The Burlington Magazine*, March 1956, p. 86.
H. Rostrup: 'Éventails et pastels de Gauguin', *GBA*, September 1960, pp. 159, 161 (repr.).
H.P. Rohde: 'Paul Gauguin og Charlottenborg', *Berlingske Aftenavis*, 1 June 1962 (repr.).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 149 (repr.).

164

Exhibitions:

Presented 13 March for the Charlottenborg Spring Exhibition; refused 26 March 1885. Rohde (**D**, 1962, above) states that the stretcher still carries a label from this exhibition.
Very probably: Copenhagen, Kunstforeningen, 1-5 May 1885: Gauguin surely made a point of sending a work refused in March to this little solo exhibition organised by the (Danish) Society of the Friends of Art (no doubt thanks to Krøyer who had known Gauguin in Paris). Gauguin refers to this episode in a letter to Pissarro dated 24 May 1885 (Merlhès 78): 'I had an exhibition of my works here: some day I shall tell you how after five days the exhibition was forced to close by order of the academy, how serious articles in my favour were stopped in the papers – All kinds of low tricks! Every man jack of the old academic clan was trembling'. By 1903, the duration of the exhibition was no longer five days but half a day (*Avant et après*, 1903, pp. 144-145). Rostrup's very thorough research has established the truth of the matter. The five-day exhibition was normal at that time for the little solo exhibitions of the Society. Gauguin's was not therefore closed by 'order of the academy'. On the other hand, it seems that the press did indeed ignore it.
See H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin et le Danemark', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956 (published in 1958), pp. 66-70.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 28.

Provenance:

Given by Gauguin to Theodor Philipsen, as is proved by Philipsen's inscription on the stretcher, and by Gauguin's sketchbook, **D** above.
Dr Paul Emil Nielsen, Copenhagen (after 1920).
Sale of P.E. Nielsen (deceased), Copenhagen, Rasmussen, 7 November 1961, no. 73.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 24 June 1986, no. 13 (to the Ny Carlsbergfondet).
Donated by the Ny Carlsbergfondet in 1986 to: **Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – IN 3231.**

164
Still Life, Interior, Copenhagen

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.74
Signed and dated upper right:
p Gauguin 85
W176

It seems almost certain that this work was painted in Gauguin's apartment; his wife's family and friends were very hostile to him and only in his own house can he have felt sufficiently at home to paint an interior. The *porte cochère* of the house opposite can be seen in the window; since it is on the same

level, the interior must be that of the reception room of the Gauguins' ground-floor flat at 105 Gammel Kongevej. There they lived from November 1884 till 22 April 1885. Their next apartment, 51 Nørregade, was on the third floor, in the denser urban landscape of central Copenhagen. The bare branches and the wintry character of the objects on the table also argue for a date very early in 1885.

Combining still life and genre scene, like *Interior (76*, 1881), this work contrasts foreground and background in highly accomplished fashion. Mette's huge *tine* hogs the limelight with its red glow; having followed its owner to Paris and then Rouen, it had now returned to Denmark forever (see *Jug and Mug, 60*). A brace of dead birds lies in front of it. In the background, the bleak silhouettes of family or friends frame the heads of two of Gauguin's children: the luminous little head is surely Jean's, and the bust seen from the back is that of Clovis, his hair now cut short. The woman with the low chignon might well be the maid, Louise Jensen, whom we know from a sketch of the same period (detail reproduced).

Louise, the maid, detail of a page of sketches. Private collection. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

Crushed ■ The birds are perhaps a grim premonition of Gauguin's much later remark: 'I have observed the North and the best thing I discovered there was certainly *not* my mother-in-law, but game, which she cooked to perfection'[1]. But we should remember both the significance that birds held for Gauguin (consider *Sweet Dreams, 75* and *Clovis Asleep, 151*) and his penchant for concealed allusions, exemplified in the *Mette in Evening Dress (154,* q.v.*)*. Here the *tine* looms over a prostrate bird like the formidable Mette over her defeated spouse, while suffering and the desire for escape are perhaps rehearsed by the other bird laid out on its bed of linen.

Stifled ■ The *tine* stands before a section of wall exhibiting one of those atmospheric decorative schemes that Gauguin had systematically explored (see still life *144*). Its motif is probably a transposition of ivy, then very fashionable in Scandinavian interiors, and typical of a style of decoration that Gauguin detested: 'You can't imagine these Danish reception rooms – […]Photographs are everywhere, on the table and on the walls. On the floor a pot of ivy whose branches delicately weave through the photographic portraits […] convention requires one to have a few oil landscapes no better than chromo[type]s'[2].

Banished ■ The expressive power of the scene lies in the division between foreground and background, which is effected by a cluster of coffin-like items and the framing of table and door-jamb. The latter may of course be the frame of a mirror, in which case the interior view is reflected. This would help to explain both the puzzling perspective of the furniture and the attenuation of light on the shadowy floor to the left. If it is a mirror, Gauguin has removed the reflection of the basket so as not to overload the composition. In either case, every particle of this painting clearly expresses the isolation that Gauguin felt in the company of his oppressively bourgeois family.

[1] Paul Gauguin: *Avant et après*, 1903, p. 77.
[2] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late November-early December 1884 (Merlhès 57).

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 176 (repr.).
W. Andersen: *Gauguin's Paradise Lost*, New York, 1971, p. 32.
V. Jirat-Wasiutynski: *Gauguin in the Context of Symbolism* (doctoral thesis, Princeton University, 1975), microfilm version, 1993, pp. 84-87.

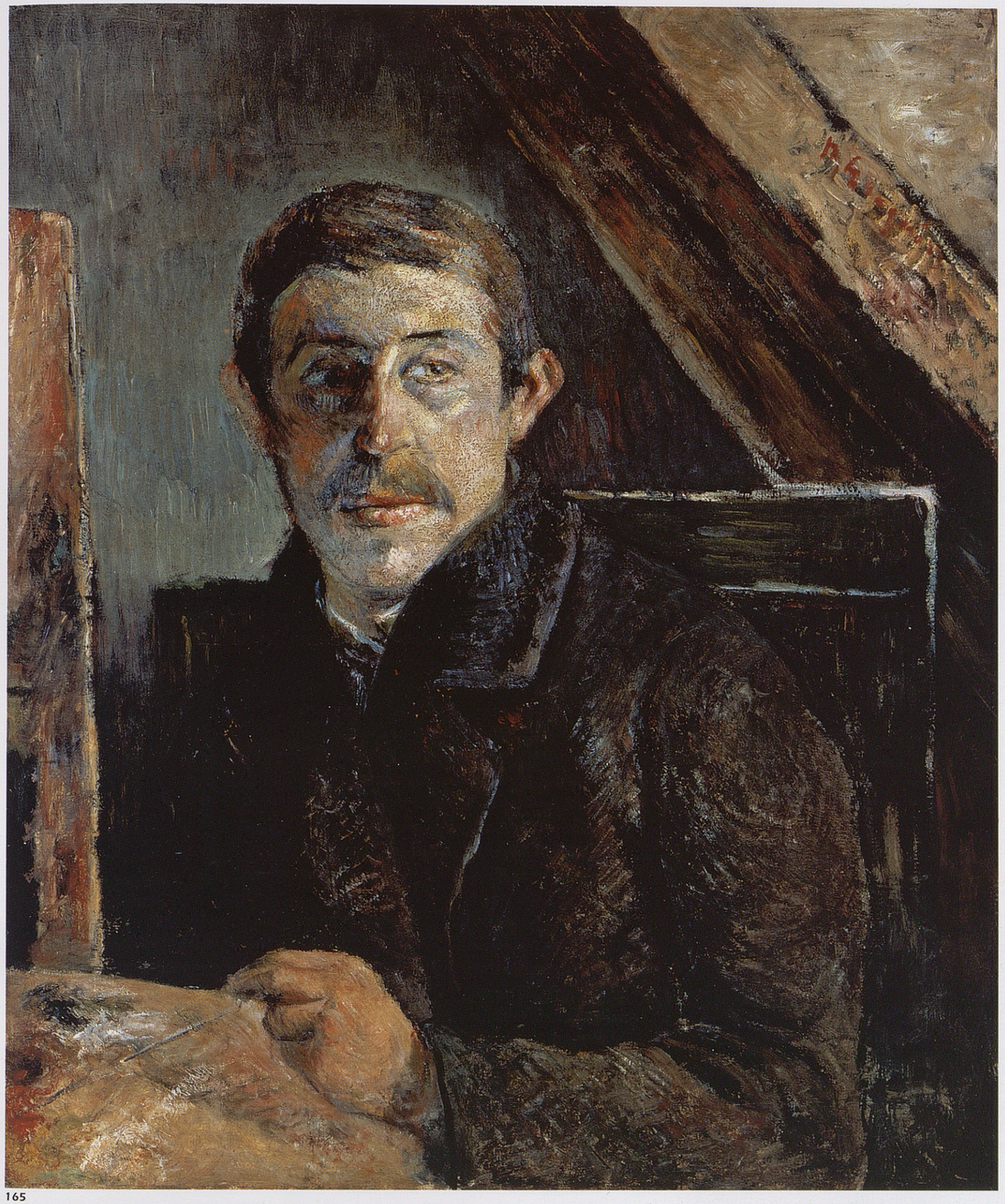
Exhibitions:
Houston (Texas), The Museum of Fine Arts, 1954, no. 5.
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, 1955, no. 12, and London, Tate Gallery, 1955, no. 11.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 18.

Provenance:
Galerie André Weil, Paris, c. 1950.
Private collection, United States, c. 1955.
Private collection, Switzerland, c. 1984.

165
Self-Portrait at the Easel

Canvas. 0.655 × 0.545
Signed upper right, diagonally:
p. Gauguin
W138

Pola Gauguin confirms that this work was painted in Copenhagen. His thoughts on the circumstances of its execution rely on the work itself rather than on his memories, since he was only one at the time. But they must also reflect family tradition. 'Gauguin was increasingly relegated to the background in his own home. He had to take refuge in a little room, since the salon had to be reserved for his wife and her pupils, many of them the flower of Danish aristocracy. The only lighting he had was a little skylight […] The only model […] himself'[1].
In France, the status of artist's wife had cost Mette dear. Now it was Gauguin's turn to suffer, and his stay in Denmark was the most humiliating period of his life. It was also the one that made art his irrevocable choice. 'I'm so alone here in this country where I don't know the inhabitants' language. My wife, I hear you say, you know she has her family which means that I'm a cipher and she's like all women: if you don't succeed you're less than nothing'[2]; 'Six months without talking complete isolation'[3]; 'Sometimes I think I've gone mad yet the more I think about it in my bed the more I think I'm right […] I'm more tormented by art than ever and I'm not distracted from it by either my money torments or business inquiries […] I console myself by dreaming [about artistic matters]'[4].
By the end of May, we find him saying 'At the moment I'm right at the end of my tether and resources […] every day I wonder



165

Gauguin, Copenhagen, detail of a Julie Laurberg & Gad photograph reproduced in the *Chronology*.
Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

whether I shouldn't go up to the attic and put my neck in a noose. What stops me is painting and that's the real stumbling block. My wife my family in short everyone blames me for this blessed painting claiming that it's shameful not to earn one's living. But a man's faculties won't do two things at a time and I can only do one thing, paint'[5]. The attic in question must be that of 51 Nørregade, to which the family moved on 22 April; whether Gammel Kongevej had afforded a similar retreat, we do not know.
This portrait, which shows him at work, his brush plunged into the red that was to become his favourite colour (see *Still Life, Fête Gloanec, 301*, inset), restates Gauguin's identity as a painter.
He was thirty-six. Suffering had not yet left deep traces on his face, which seems both young and kindly – handsome even – though with something other-worldly about his gaze. There has been little agreement about the colour of Gauguin's eyes, and we note that this portrait confirms the family tradition stated by Pola Gauguin, who describes them as 'light green', and Gauguin's hair as 'on the brown side with a tinge of red'[6].
This is the first self-portrait (*78* is an unfinished sketch), and Gauguin made of it a somewhat nacreous study in Impressionist chiaroscuro. The technique and the harmony of the colours suggest that it dates from the late winter or early spring. A sketch in Gauguin's sketchbook of 1884-1886[7] may be contemporary with this work, given the extraordinary resemblance of the two self-portrayals.

Self-portrait, sketch. Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 111. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

[1] Pola Gauguin, 1938 (**D**).
[2] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 30 January 1885 (Merlhès 68).
[3] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 24 May 1885 (Merlhès 78).
[4] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 14 January 1885 (Merlhès 65).
[5] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late May 1885 (Merlhès 79).
[6] Pola Gauguin, 1938, p. 19 (**D**).
[7] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald), 1962, p. 111.

Documents and bibliography:
Mette Gauguin to De Monfreid, 5 October 1905: 'we all three [Mette, Jean, and Pola] agreed that you thoroughly deserved it [Paul's portrait]' (in J. Loize: *Les Amitiés du peintre Georges-Daniel de Monfreid...*, Paris, 1951, no. 468).
Photograph of De Monfreid's studio in rue Liancourt, in which this work can be seen, c. 1915 (in Loize, 1951, no. 709).
Pola Gauguin: *Paul Gauguin, mon père*, Paris, 1938, p. 82.
(?) R. Rey: 'Souvenirs sur D. de Monfreid', *Beaux-Arts*, 28 October 1938, p.4: reports that De Monfreid left his collection of Gauguin works – including 'the portrait Gauguin painted of himself' (which might equally be W556) – deposited with the Musée du Luxembourg from April to November, during his stays in the south of France, and in winter kept them in his Parisian studio where many people came to see them.
R. Hamon: *Gauguin, le solitaire du Pacifique*, Paris, 1939, p. 10 (places the work in the Pierre Borel collection).
H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin et le Danemark', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956 (published in 1958), p. 72.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 138 (repr.).
V. Jirat-Wasiutynski: *Gauguin in the Context of Symbolism* (doctoral thesis, Princeton University), 1975, microfilmed version, 1993, pp. 83-84, 353.

Exhibitions:
Den Frie Udstilling, Copenhagen, Free Exhibitions Building, 1893, supplement no. 212.
Paris, Galerie Dru, 1923, no. 1.
Paris, Musée du Luxembourg, 1928, no. 1.
Paris, Galerie Le Portique, 1931, no. 34.
Gauguin et ses amis, Paris, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1934, no. 60.
G.-D. de Monfreid et son ami Gauguin, Paris, Charpentier, 1938, no. 151.
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, 1955, no. 10 and London, Tate Gallery, 1955, no. 9 or 13, depending on the edition.
Gauguin og Van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 20.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 17.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Given by Mette Gauguin to G.-D. de Monfreid in 1905, according to Pola Gauguin, who told Malingue of this (cited in Wildenstein, 1964, **D** above); the information is confirmed by Mette's letter of 5 October 1905 (**D** above).
Mme D. de Monfreid, Béziers, 1929.
Henri de Monfreid, Béziers, c. 1934.
Mme Huc de Monfreid, Béziers.
Pierre Borel (in R. Hamon, 1939, **D** above).
Dr Jacques Koerfer, Berne, c. 1953.
Sale [J. Koerfer, deceased], New York, Christie's, 14 May 1997, no. 14 to:
Fort Worth (Texas), Kimbell Art Museum – AP 1997.03.

166
Portrait of a Child

Work known only from documentary evidence.

Gauguin listed the works with which he had parted in his sketchbook of 1888-1890[1], including the note '[sold to] Mad[am][e] Brandus* Portrait child [FF] 250'. Both model and buyer must have belonged to the family of the Danish journalist Edvard Brandes, who was a friend of Gauguin's sister-in-law, and at this same period bought a rather substantial still life: see *170*, **P**.
The still life cost FF 200; the child portrait cost FF 250 and must therefore have been a work of fairly considerable size – either an oil or a large and well-worked pastel. But if it had been a pastel, Gauguin might well have noted the fact in his sketchbook, as he does a few lines above on the same page in relation to a pastel portrait given to Cellot. Given the uncertainty concerning the nature of this work, it should also be noted that, several years later, Edvard Brandes lent some pastel *Portraits* to the 1893 exhibition. They were grouped under a single number, 132, without record of their dimensions, and have not been identified.
It therefore seems likely that a portrait of a Brandes child did exist, that it was painted in 1885 during Gauguin's stay in Denmark, perhaps on canvas, and that it remained in Denmark when Gauguin returned to France.

[1] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 227.

Provenance:
Bought from Gauguin by Mme Brandes, Copenhagen, 1885.
Disappeared.

167
Winter's End, Copenhagen

Canvas. 0.465 × 0.320
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 85
W143

167

The leafless trees and green grass suggest the very end of winter or the very start of spring. These grounds – we seem to be in a garden rather than a street – are like those in the winter view *160*. The picture was most probably painted in the modern residential quarter of Gammel Kongevej, where the Gauguins lived until 22 April 1885.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 143 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, 1955, no. 11, and London, Tate Gallery, 1955, no. 10.
Oslo, Kunstnerforbundet, 1955, no. 8.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 21.
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 19.
Tokyo, Kyoto and Fukuoka, 1969, no. 10.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 14.

Provenance:
May have formed part of the set of paintings that Gauguin arranged to send back to France in 1885 (see letter to Mette Gauguin, 19 August 1885, Merlhès 83).
Sale, Paris, Drouot, 15 April 1901, no. 2 (to Leclanché).
Bernheim-Jeune, Paris.
Sold by Bernheim-Jeune to Otto Feldmann, 17 December 1912 (no. 18096).
(?) Sale, Paris, 19 June 1914, no. 43 (*Garden View*), 0.46 × 0.29, signed lower left and dated, to Schoeller).
Sir George Roberts, London.
Mrs A.E. Pleydell-Bouverie, London.
R.A. Peto, Isle of Wight (England), c. 1955.
Rosemary M. Peto, Isle of Wight, c. 1969.
Mrs Rosemary Peto sale, London, Sotheby's, 1 July 1970, no. 13 (to B.J. Cantor).
Leona Cantor, Beverly Hills (California), c. 1974.
Cantor sale, New York, Christie's, 14 November 1990, no. 6.
Private collection, Switzerland.

168
Lilac Bouquet

Canvas. 0.35 × 0.27
Signed and dated lower left:
p. Gauguin 85
W177

This bouquet was painted in May in the second apartment occupied by the Gauguins in Copenhagen. The vase, which appeared in the rue Carcel painting, *80*, must have followed the family to Denmark.
An almost identical counterfeit of this painting is reproduced in a Christie's sale catalogue (New York, 12 November 1997, no. 211).

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Vollard Archives, inventory of 1 January 1922: '[no.] 5334 Flowers. Oil. 35 × 27'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 177 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Selected French Paintings, 19th and 20th Centuries, London, Lefevre, 1954, no. 12.
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Art Museum, 1987, no. 14.

Provenance:
Lady Baillie, London.
Sir Lawrence and Lady Olivier, London, 1950.
Sir Alexander Korda, London.

168

Sale, Mrs David Metcalfe (Sir Alexander Korda collection), London, Sotheby's, 14 June 1962, no. 21 (to Speelman).
Edward Speelman, London.
Sir Charles Clore, London.
Sale, the Late Charles Clore's Charitable Personal Settlement, London, Sotheby's, 3 December 1985, no. 10.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 28 November 1989, no. 30.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 9 November 1995, no. 164.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 17-18 November 1998, no. 233.

169
Still Life with Chinese Peonies and Mandolin

Canvas. 0.61 × 0.51
Signed and dated lower right:
p. Gauguin 85
W173

169

A. Guillaumin: *Orchard* (Serret-Fabiani 63).
Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

This work was painted before Gauguin's return to France in mid-June 1885 at the Gauguin family's second address in Copenhagen, 51 Nørregade. The flowers are Chinese peonies, which flower between mid-May and mid-June[1].
The vase had come with the family from Rouen where Gauguin painted it with a bouquet of rowan, *149*; shortly afterwards, it appeared holding the flowers of *170*. The mandolin too had already appeared in several works (see *63*, inset).
Behind these objects, on the wall, there is an *Orchard* by Guillaumin (Serret-Fabian 63), which was identified by Bodelsen (**D**). It too had been brought from France, but remained in Denmark, since it formed part of the group of works 'sold' by Mette Gauguin to Edvard Brandes (on this transaction, see the portrait of Ingeborg Thaulow, *44*, inset). It will be remembered that Gauguin was increasingly inclined to represent works of art in his paintings (see *Peonies, 145*, inset).

The wide white border and thin strip of gold with which Gauguin liked to frame his personal collection are clearly visible in the frame of the Guillaumin. Works that once belonged to Gauguin can still be found in Danish collections in exactly such frames, Bodelsen (**D**) notes. The frame of the landscape shown in *Peonies (145)* of 1884 also has a wide white border, as does that of Gauguin's favourite Cézanne, visible in the background of the *Portrait W387* of 1890. On the importance that the Impressionists accorded to such frames, see *Snow, Rue Carcel (98)*, inset.

[1] According to Monsieur Lemattre.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 173 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin, the Collector', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, pp. 592 (fig. 32), 595 (reproduces the Guillaumin, fig. 37), 608, no. 26 (on the Guillaumin).

Exhibitions:
Washington D.C., Chicago and Paris, 1988-1989, no. 16.

Provenance:
Ambroise Vollard, Paris.
Bought by the Kaiser Wilhelm Museum in Krefeld (Germany) in 1941.
Assigned to the Louvre by the Office des Biens privés; exhibited in the galleries of the Jeu de Paume, 1957.
Transferred in 1986 to:
Paris, Musée d'Orsay – MNR 219.

170
Two Vases of Flowers and a Fan

Canvas. 1.00 × 0.65
Signed and dated lower centre:
p Gauguin 85
W178

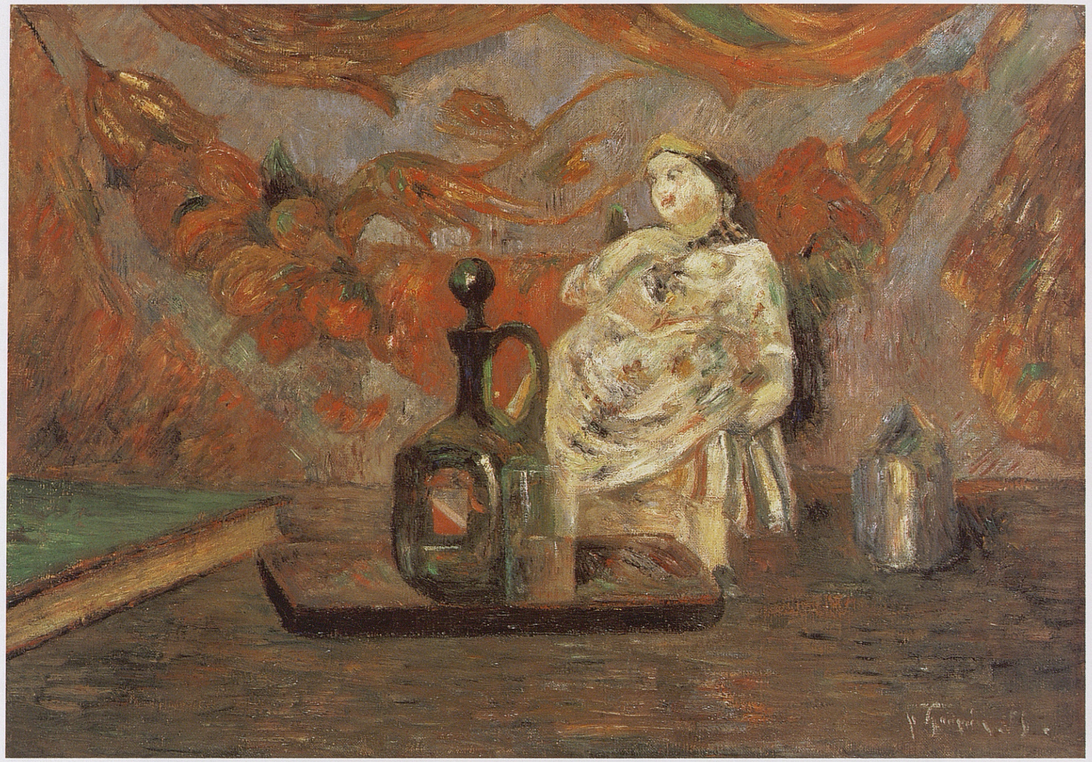
The presence of the vase depicted in *169*, along with that of a fan belonging to Mette, confirms that this still life was painted in Copenhagen before Gauguin's return to France around mid-June 1885.

Documents and bibliography:
This is very probably the work whose sale Gauguin noted in his sketchbook of 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 227, along with other transactions effected in Denmark: '[sold to] Brandus* still life [FF] 200'.
D. Sutton: 'Notes on Paul Gauguin apropos a Recent Exhibition', *The Burlington Magazine*, March 1956, p. 86.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 178 (repr.).
M. Bodelsen: 'Gauguin the Collector', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, p. 615, no. 3.

Exhibitions:
Den Frie Udstilling, Copenhagen, Free Exhibitions Building, 1893, no. 133 (*Still Life*, 0.99 × 0.62, to Dr E. Brandes).
New York, Wildenstein, 1956, no. 2.
Chicago (Illinois), The Art Institute of Chicago, and New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1959, no. 5.
Gauguin og Van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 18 (not exhibited).

Provenance:
This still life, which belonged to the writer and journalist Edvard Brandes in 1893, seems to have been sold to him by Gauguin in 1885 (see Gauguin's sketchbook, **D**); the other components of the Brandes collection were 'sold' to Brandes by Mette Gauguin after 1887 (on which, see the *Portrait of Ingeborg, 44*, inset). It was no doubt thanks to the intimate relation of Ingeborg Thaulow, Gauguin's sister-in-law, with Edvard Brandes, that Gauguin came to know Brandes and his family. He seems to have painted a child portrait for them (*166*). On Ingeborg's relations with Brandes, who became her second husband in 1887, see the portraits *44* and *109*.
Does the existence of a Voering (Oslo) photo of this picture suggest a subsequent Norwegian owner?
Gerson, Berlin.
Hugo Perls, Berlin.
Suzi Magnelli, Ascona (Switzerland).
Private collection, Germany.
Mr and Mrs Robert Winthrop, New York, 1955.
Private collection.

170



171

171
Still Life with *Carafon* and Figurine

Canvas. 0.46 × 0.65
Signed and dated lower right:
p Gauguin. 85.
W174

This is an enigmatic arrangement. Its components bespeak a greater level of wealth than is generally on display in Gauguin's still lifes. Alongside the gilt-edged book, the *carafon*, which might almost bear a coat of arms, and the sumptuous hanging, there are certain 'far eastern' elements: the lacquer tray and the statuette with its air of 18th century *chinoiserie*. The statuette is similar to the Mennecy porcelain figure reproduced opposite and seems thus to pertain to an art at once exotic and semi-popular, which contrasts with the rather stolid refinement of its surroundings. In the hanging, we detect the head of a bird pecking at the heavy garland, and perhaps evoking, here too (see *To Make a Bouquet, 62*, inset), a background element of freedom or dream.
Most of the objects represented are unknown to us. The hanging, a potent adjunct in the creation of atmosphere, does not appear in any other work; where did Gauguin find it? By contrast, the figurine stood centre-stage on a little chest in the Gauguins' rue Carcel reception room, where it appears in *Interior (76)* of 1881; so it very likely belonged to Gauguin.
Where, then, was this work painted? Surely not in Dieppe, when Gauguin is hardly likely to have lumbered himself with a statuette. If it was painted after Gauguin's return to Paris in October, the objects must have been set out in his little rue Cail apartment, but since this was almost completely bare, we can probably rule that out. It could equally have been set out in the home of a close friend such as Favre or Schuffenecker, both of them recognised depositories of his work (see *Portrait, 43*, inset and *Basket of Flowers, 148*, inset). But it seems unlikely that either man's environment featured such elegant hangings. So it seems ultimately more likely that it was painted in Denmark; this might explain the placing of a *naïve* French figurine amidst such bourgeois trappings.

Mennecy figurine (from H. Landais: *La Porcelaine française du XVIIIe siècle*, Hachette, 1963, fig. xiv).

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 174 (repr.).

Provenance:
If this still life was painted in Copenhagen, it may have formed part of the set of paintings that Gauguin arranged to have sent back to France in summer 1885 (see letters to Mette, 19 August 1885, Merlhès 83 and 19 September 1885, Merlhès 84).
Schuffenecker.
Private collection, Paris.
Mrs A.C. Marks, London, 1961.
Sale, New York, Christie's, 12 November 1985, no. 46.
Private collection.

172

172
Summer Flowers in a Goblet

Canvas. 0.255 × 0.330
Said to be signed lower right: *P G*

This work is known to us only through a Brenwasser photo, number A4218, taken in New York in the late 1940s, on which the signature cannot be clearly seen, and by a file card of the same number, specifying that the signature takes the form of initials.
The flowers include poppies, which flower in June and July; the file card mentioned above notes the presence of cornflowers and lupins (a point unverifiable on a black and white photograph), which also flower in early summer. The technique of this work suggests a date between 1884 and 1886, with the emphasis on 1885. However, if it is indeed from 1885, without further information about the flowers it is difficult to know when and therefore where (Denmark or France) it was painted.

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Vollard Archives, 1907 diary, 8 May: 'Bought from Mad. Gauguin […] 1 still life blue flowers [with five other works] all by Gauguin for 200 fr paid by cheque'. The sum seems likely to have been FF 2,000, in fact; see *149*, **D**.

Provenance:
(?) Bought from Mette Gauguin by Vollard, 8 May 1907, see Vollard Archives, **D** above.
In any case: Vollard.
Gilbert Kahn, New York, 1950.

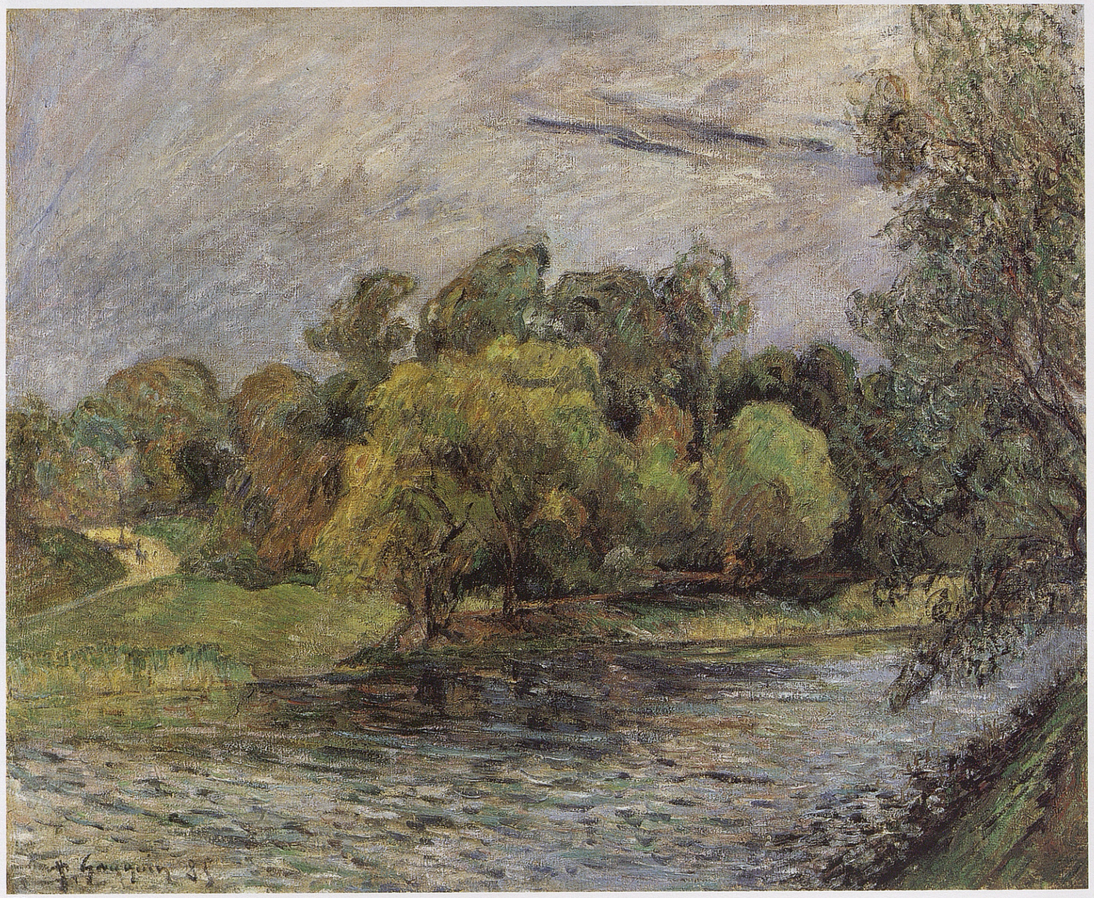
173
Østervold Park, Copenhagen

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.73
Signed and dated lower left:
P. Gauguin 85
W142

Haavard Rostrup has informed us that this landscape was painted in the same park as *174*. Since 22 April 1885, Gauguin's family had been living ten minutes away from this park, in the centre of town at 51 Nørregade. The painting's fresh, almost nacreous colours therefore date from some time between late April and late May, when Gauguin wrote to Pissarro: 'I haven't worked much in Denmark I'll soon tell you why, all the same just recently with the green coming out I got down to some *plein air* and without effort or any resolution to paint bright and luminous managed something different from what I did in Rouen [deliberately lacklustre, see *Notre-Dame-des-Anges, Rouen, 130,* **D**]. I think I may say there's enormous progress I can feel it, it's more flexible lighter more luminous without change of method colours quite close in tone one right next to the other. In Rouen, I was lacking cold colours in the sky in greens and in earth-colours'[1].

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, late May 1885 (Merlhès 79).

Documents and bibliography:
H. Fèvre: 'L'Exposition des impressionnistes', *La Revue de demain*, May-June 1886, p. 155: 'a lake ruffled by the wind, where the thirsty willow branches lean over the waters, lit by the intermittent luminosity of a sky in which the clouds are swept away by the breeze'.
J. Ajalbert: 'Le Salon des impressionnistes', *La Revue moderne*, 20 June 1886, p. 389: 'in "The Park (Denmark)" and "Before the Apples", there floats a pale, ashen light, of exquisite fluidity'.
'Les Vingtistes parisiens', *L'Art moderne*, 27 June 1886 (in Merlhès, 1984, p. 422, below).
Entry form for the Nantes *Exposition des Beaux-Arts*, filled in by Gauguin on 26 July 1886 (Merlhès 109).
Wildenstein 1964, no. 142 (repr.).
V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, pp. 437-438, note 206 (previously unpublished information on the Nantes exhibition).



173

Exhibitions:
8e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 56.
Exposition des Beaux-Arts, Nantes, palais du cours Saint-André, October 1886-January 1887, no. 425. Gauguin no doubt chose this and *Notre-Dame-des-Anges, Rouen (130)* for the Nantes exhibition because he found them representative respectively of the 'lacklustre' manner of Rouen and the 'fluid' manner achieved in Denmark, manners to which he refers in the letter to Pissarro (Merlhès 79, cited above; see also *Notre-Dame-des-Anges, Rouen, 130*).
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 15.

Provenance:
This painting must have formed part of the set of paintings that Gauguin arranged to have sent back to France in summer 1885 (see letters to Mette, 19 August 1885, Merlhès 83 and 19 September 1885, Merlhès 84).
Diana Watson.
Acquired in 1944 by the Hamilton Trust and given that year to:
Glasgow (Scotland), Art Gallery and Museum – inv. 2465.

174
Windmill (Dronningens Mølle), Østervold Park

Canvas. 0.925 × 0.735
Signed and dated lower right:
P Gauguin 85
W141

Rostrup points out that in the background to this landscape is the former Dronningens Mølle (Queen's Mill) on the Rosenkrand fortress; the last survivor of the rampart windmills, it was demolished to make way for the Nyboder school in 1895. Rostrup (1956, **D**) has published a photograph of it dated around 1875. This painting, like *173,* must be from around May 1885.

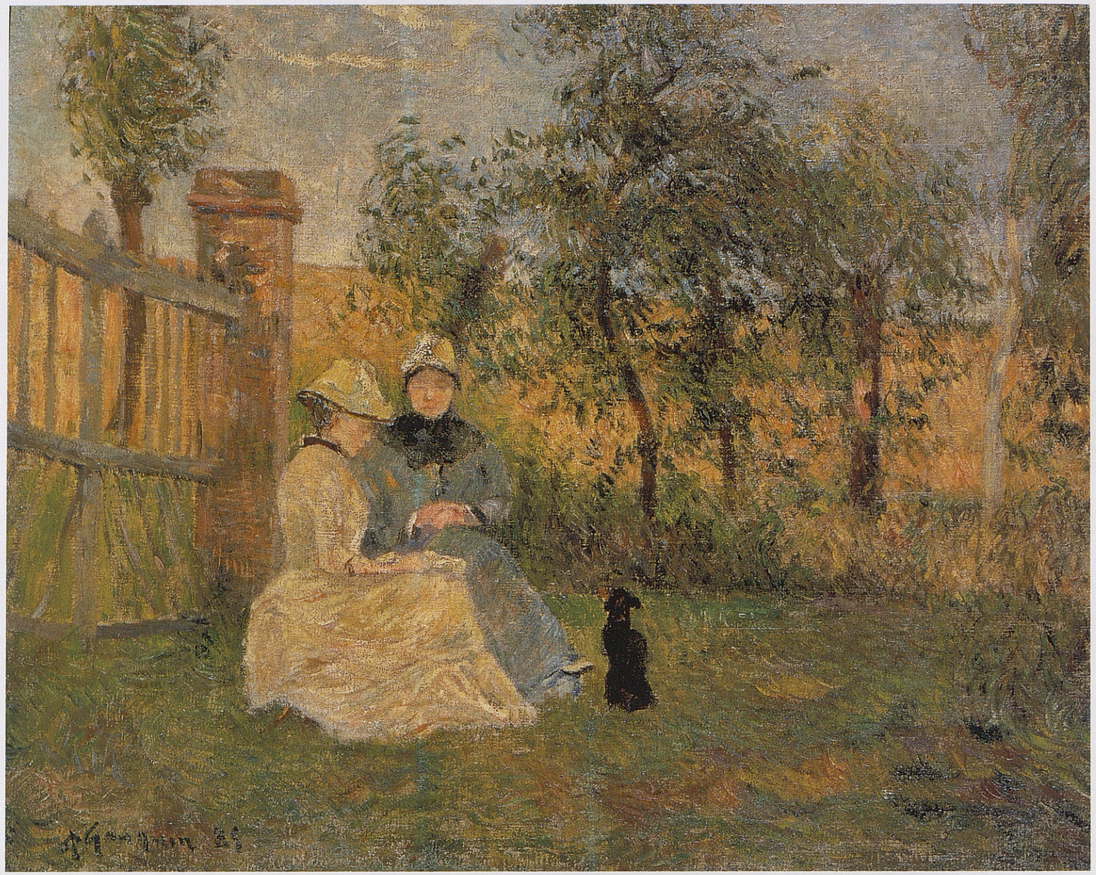
Documents and bibliography:
'Dag til Dag', *Politiken*, 10 April 1893, p. 1.
J. Jörgensen: 'Foraars-Udstillingerne. Gauguin og Van Gogh', *Politiken*, 16 April 1893, p. 1.
H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin et le Danemark', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956 (published 1958), pp. 69 (repr.), 72, 80, 81.
H. Rostrup: 'Nye Oplysinger om Gauguin og hans forhold til Danmark 1883-1893', *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 1956, vol. 13, p. 79 (repr.).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 141 (repr.).

174

Exhibitions:
Den Frie Udstilling, Copenhagen, Free Exhibitions Building, 1893, no. 131.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 27.
Gauguin og Van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 21 (not exhibited).
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 26.

Provenance:
Bought from Mette Gauguin by Victor Hoffding (brother of the philosopher Harald Hoffding), Copenhagen, during the 1893 exhibition.
S. Bramsen, Copenhagen.
Bought in 1931 by the Ny Carlsbergfondet, given in 1932 to:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – IN 1850.

Dronningens Mølle (from Rostrup: *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 1956).



175

175
Conversation

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.74
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 85
W144

We have retained the title under which this work was exhibited in 1886. It tells us, alas, nothing about its subject. Was it painted in Denmark or Dieppe? Certain elements tip the balance in favour of Copenhagen (see inset). In the background we see a cereal field, which suggests that this landscape was painted in the same region as *Before the Apples (177)*.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 144 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
8e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 57 (*Conversation* – this is the only known picture fitting that title).
Gauguin et le groupe de Pont-Aven, Quimper, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1950, no. 2.
New York, Wildenstein, 1956, no. 3.

Provenance:
Must have formed part of the consignment of paintings that Gauguin arranged to have sent back to France in summer 1885 (see letters to Mette, 19 August 1885, Merlhès 83, and 19 September 1885, Merlhès 84) – if it was indeed painted in Denmark.
Aurier.
Mahé-Williame, Aix-en-Provence, c. 1950.
Mr and Mrs Charles Allen, Jr., New York, c. 1955.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 13 November 1997, no. 131.
Private collection.

Three Mysterious Works

Do this and the two following works (*176, 177*) belong to Gauguin's Danish period, and therefore to May or early June? Or do they represent scenes from the Dieppe region, painted during the summer? *Before the Apples (177)* probably dates from before mid-July (see *177*) but this is not decisive. There are few clues in the paintings themselves. The clothes of the two figures tell us little or nothing; fashions were almost simultaneous throughout Europe, and the *capote* bonnets (typical of 1885) and the high-neckline of the woman sitting full-face (perhaps that of very a respectable Nordic Protestant) could be found as easily in Denmark as in France[1].
As far as we know, Gauguin was not acquainted with any families in Dieppe. But such acquaintance cannot be excluded. In any case the rather cursory characterisation of the figures in the two garden scenes suggests that the ties between Gauguin and his subjects were not close, a situation he might have encountered in either Denmark or France.

The technique of these works is, perhaps, more forthcoming. It matches that of the Danish painting *Windmill (174)*, and has an end-of-stay quality; Gauguin tended to start from scratch when painting in an unfamiliar landscape, beginning with a few works of obvious subject-matter or conventional style, and it is hard to see him dashing off *Before the Apples* less than a fortnight after his arrival. And most of Gauguin's Dieppe works are more carefully structured and wrought than these three mysterious scenes. Finally, if they were not Danish, they would bring Gauguin's Dieppe campaign up to nearly thirty canvases in ten weeks, a rate of production he rarely if ever attained.
If they are from Denmark, they form part of a fecund spring-season forming a transition between the winter dearth[2] and the intense productivity of Dieppe. So it is possible that these works were painted in one of the cereal-growing regions of Denmark, perhaps while staying with friends of Mette Gauguin.

[1] Information supplied by Mme Camitsis, of the Union française des arts du costume.
[2] See the introduction to the Danish period.

176

176
In the Garden

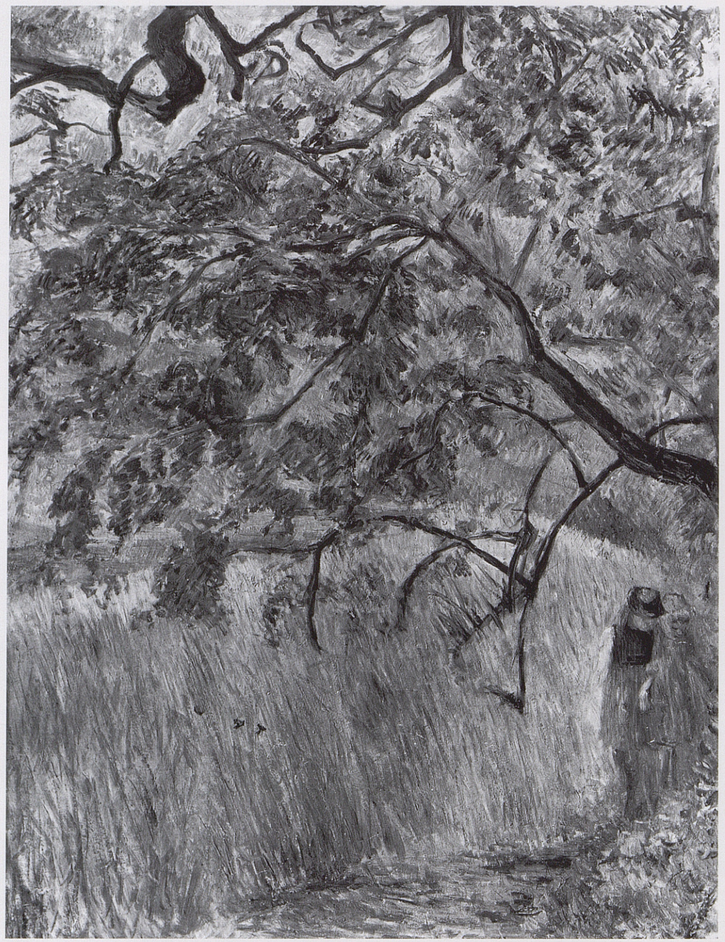
Canvas. 0.65 × 0.46
Signed lower left: *p Gauguin*
W145

This work, which perhaps dates from late in Gauguin's Danish period (see *Conversation, 175*, inset), is known to us only through a reproduction in the 1928 exhibition catalogue.

Documents and bibliography:
Probably: Vollard Archives, inventory c. 1899: receipts column: 'no. 3371 [Provenance] Schuffenecker brother. Gauguin. Oil. Brittany landscape foreground two persons sketched under trees standing out on sky-blue background in middle ground some [houses?]. [H.] 65 [W.] 46 [Purchase price] 100'. Outgoings column: '30 November 1899 [sold to] Maurice Fabre 13 rue de l'Odéon [price FF] 200'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 145 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 23.
Gauguin et le groupe de Pont-Aven, Zurich, Kunsthaus, 1966, no. 2.

Provenance:
Probably: bought from Amédée Schuffenecker by Vollard, c. 1899, and sold to Maurice Fabre, November 1899 (see Vollard Archives, **D** above).
Bought from Émile Bernheim by Bernheim-Jeune, 26 March 1928.
Sold by Bernheim-Jeune to Turner, 4 May 1928 (no. 25280).
Private collection, Muri (Switzerland), c. 1966.



177

177
Before the Apples

Canvas.

This work is known to us only through a photo forming part of a set of photographs given by Mette Gauguin to her daughter-in-law Clara (wife of Jean Gauguin) in 1919. We have retained the title under which it was exhibited in 1886.
A question arises whether this work dates from the end of Gauguin's Danish stay or from his Dieppe period (see *Conversation, 175*, inset). If it belongs to the Dieppe period, it must have been painted very early in Gauguin's stay. The very high cereal stalks in the field must be rye, which begins turning from green to yellow in mid-July[1], and we know from the De Monfreid letter (**D**) that they are green in this painting. Moreover, Gauguin complained while in Dieppe that he was finding it difficult to reach the countryside (see introduction to Gauguin's stay in Dieppe), and when he eventually did so, he surely began with more conventional compositions, such as *White House (183)*.
It is therefore more likely that this painting is of a Danish subject, though it is not exactly of a park, as Mette later described it (see De Monfreid letter, **D**). She may have been confusing it with the two *Park* paintings, *173* and *174*, which show some stylistic kinship.

[1] Information provided by Monsieur Lemattre.

Documents and bibliography:

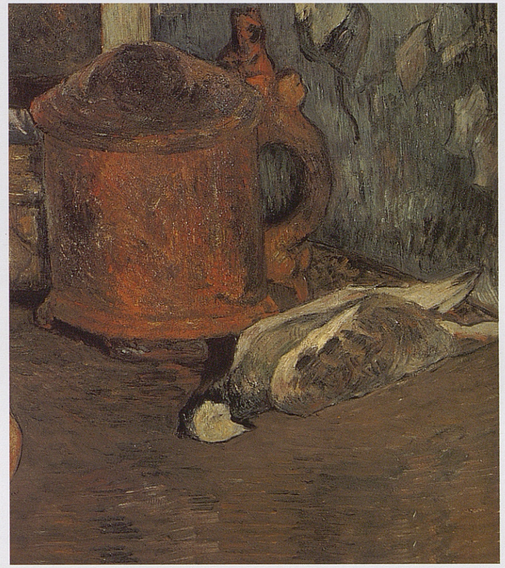
J. Ajalbert: 'Le Salon des impressionnistes', *La Revue moderne*, 20 June 1886: 'in "The Park (Denmark)" and "Before the Apples", there floats a pale, ashen light, of exquisite fluidity' (in Merlhès, 1984, p. 422).
Unpublished letter from De Monfreid to Mette Gauguin, 24 February 1907: 'I was hoping, before I wrote, […] to have a reply about the sale of one of the paintings that you ask me to send to Copenhagen; but I haven't had an answer yet. […] I told you that I had been in talks about selling one of the three Gauguin pictures that I still have here. […] I had suggested selling one for 500 frs – which seems reasonable to me – to Fernand Dumas […] he still hasn't replied: he's very busy at the moment and impossible to get hold of because he's about to leave Perpignan to come and live in Paris and go into a major industry. Would you be so kind, dear Madame, as to tell me whether I should go ahead with this suggestion? The picture is the one Gauguin painted in a park (so you tell me) in Copenhagen, showing tree branches, through which one can see high grass, like green wheat, with two children walking down a path hand in hand. As soon as I have your answer I shall send you the pictures; either the two remaining, if we sell the one described above; or all three'.

Exhibitions:

8e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 52 (*Before the Apples*).

Provenance:

Was in the Paris home of Daniel de Monfreid until 1907; see letter of 24 February 1907 (**D** above). The sale to Fernand Dumas fell through and De Monfreid must have sent the work to Mette, since it was photographed at her home before 1919. This operation confirms De Monfreid's declaration that, despite Gauguin's instructions, he returned to Mette all the works still in his hands when Gauguin died (see on this subject the *Mette in Evening Dress, 154*, inset).
Current whereabouts unknown.



Still Life, Interior, Copenhagen (164), detail. ▶

Summer in Dieppe (June or July to September 1885)

Gauguin's stay in Dieppe is probably the most mysterious of his career. Exactly how long he was there – and where exactly he was – we still do not know. This is partly Gauguin's own work. He seems to have done his best to sow confusion. Writing to Mette on 19 September, he declared 'Since my last letter, I've been on my travels: I've arrived here in Dieppe for 2 or 3 days after spending nearly 3 weeks in London, you know where'. The address in question is noted in Gauguin's sketchbook for 1884-1886[1]; it is in Sydenham, and belonged to 'M.', who was presumably a member of some Spanish revolutionary faction. (On Gauguin's support for this cause, see the *Mulatress, 158* and *Bordeaux Harbour, 213*). 'So,' he continued, 'Try and write more often and always send your letters to Schuffeneker*'s, I'll be at his place in 3 or 4 days'[2]. A fortnight later he was telling Pissarro, 'Write to me at Monsieur Favre's, 19 rue Perdonnet. I'm just back from Dieppe where I spent three months with a friend who put me up. Of course I did a lot of work but there were lots of obstacles given that it's a long way from the countryside which means motifs were rather lacking. Still, beggars can't be choosers./ I went to London for 8 days…'[3] The only contradiction concerns Gauguin's stay in London, and the shorter version is the more plausible, but there are significant omissions. Writing to Mette on 9 and 19 August[4], Gauguin says nothing about his address and seems to avoid the subject, as if he were anxious to have Mette think he spent only a short time in Dieppe.

But it was indeed at Dieppe that he was working from late June or July until around 22 September, as he told Pissarro. The number of works produced in these ten or so weeks, even if we exclude the three mysterious *plein-air* paintings *175, 176* and *177*, comes to at least twenty-five. By comparison, it took Gauguin three times as long in Rouen to produce some thirty paintings.

Mysteries

We know nothing about the friend with whom Gauguin stayed. The letter to Pissarro places his residence in the town or its immediate vicinity. Did Gauguin wish to conceal the friend's identity from Mette? Had the friend, for example, taken Gauguin's part in the marital conflict in Rouen, or Frits Thaulow's part against Thaulow's wife (Mette's sister), Ingeborg? (For these events, see entries for *109* and *154*.) Could he perhaps be 'Jean', clearly a close friend, who is mentioned in both the 1888-1890 sketchbook[5] and the Briant album[6]? Jean bought three paintings recorded as 'Cow[,] pond' for FF 100 each; these were almost certainly works from Gauguin's Dieppe campaign, of the kind numbered between *191* and *196*. The low prices combined with the repetitive motifs may be an indication that these purchases were less the acquisitions of an art-lover than a form of financial assistance – perhaps supplied by an unknown friend from Dieppe. This remains entirely hypothetical.

We should, however, also note the existence of an Englishwoman whose castle Gauguin painted (see *White House, 183*). And the evening primroses (*oenothera*) painted in the bouquet of *202* are a relatively rare flower, perhaps suggesting some acquaintance who owned a garden in Varengeville, or even, perhaps, a female presence.

Above all, we should note the large number of works painted in the countryside. Gauguin was based in the town, and therefore close to the port, but, former sailor as he was, he painted the sea only four or five times; the 'obstacles'[7] that he complained of do not seem to have prevented him

◀ *Boy by the Water [196]*, detail.

reaching the verdant surroundings to which he aspired. Perhaps, then, he had not merely a host in town but, on at least one occasion, a host or hostess in the country with a house in the vicinity of Varengeville.

By contrast, it is clear that Gauguin had nothing to do with the little artistic colony centred around Jacques-Émile Blanche, whose family owned a house in Dieppe very close to the beach. The colony included Whistler, Helleu, George Moore, William Sickert, and, that summer, Degas, who was visiting his friend the vaudeville-writer Ludovic Halévy. Gauguin, it seems, was greeted there with hostility and derision and was somewhat offended that Degas refused to receive him one day when the latter was painting[8]. A year later, Pissarro was able to report that 'Gauguin is once again bosom friends with Degas [...] The slights of last year at the seaside are forgotten, as are the master's jibes at the zealot'[9]. Helleu apparently felt nothing but animosity for Gauguin, while Blanche, whose father was a famous alienist, perceived in Gauguin all the symptoms of megalomania[10].

Valley

How Gauguin contrived, while living 'a long way from the countryside'[11], to paint so many country scenes, we do not know. The question of where he painted them is rather less obscure; they all seem to depict the landscape immediately south and west of Dieppe. Two views of an almost bourgeois residence – a house of a type common near Varengeville (*183* and *184*) – are followed by a group of pictures (*191* to *196*) which strongly suggest the valley of the Saâne. In this very open valley, with its gently sloping meadows studded with cows and apple-trees, the meanders of the river are lined with trees. The Saâne flows into the sea west of Varengeville, and even now there are many places along its valley that closely resemble Gauguin's landscapes; this is particularly true, for example, around Gueures. The characteristic luminosity of the bright orange-tinted roofs might serve to confirm the proximity of Varengeville, where a tile-factory was still producing roof-tiles of this colour in the 1980s.

A last group of landscapes shows a little wood in which a few beech trees are prominent (*197* to *199*); there is a very similar one at Offranville, a little further south and equidistant between Varengeville and Dieppe. But beeches are common in the Dieppe region and this motif is more difficult to locate with any certainty.

Gauguin's stay in Dieppe marked an explosion of creativity. Now free of his family, Gauguin threw himself into his work and, painting successive studies of similar subjects – a very rare thing with him – he attained a quite exceptional rate of production.

[1] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald, 1962), p. 13.
[2] Gauguin to Mette, 19 September 1885 (Merlhès 84).
[3] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 2 October 1885 (Merlhès 85).
[4] Gauguin to Mette, 9 and 19 August 1885 (Merlhès 82 and 83).
[5] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 227.
[6] Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, fonds du Musée d'Orsay, p. 5.
[7] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 2 October 1885 (Merlhès 85).
[8] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 2 October 1885 (Merlhès 85).
[9] Camille to Lucien Pissarro, 3rd week of November 1886 (Merlhès XXXI).
[10] J.-É. Blanche: *Propos de peintre. De Gauguin à la Revue nègre*, Paris, 1928, pp. 5-6.
[11] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 2 October 1885 (Merlhès 85).

The Saâne valley. Photo: Sophie Nicolaïevitch.

A barn with yellow walls and orange roof, typical of the valley. Photo: Paul Mariage.

The River Saâne. Photo: Sophie Nicolaïevitch.

178

178
Beach, Dieppe

Canvas. 0.715 × 0.715
Signed and dated (with location) lower left: *P Gauguin 85 Dieppe*
W166

Jacques-Émile Blanche lived in rue Alexandre Dumas, which leads down to the beach from directly below the castle. He remembered seeing Gauguin 'pass beneath my windows on his way to paint the fishing beds from the rocks'[1]. This may be the work Gauguin was setting out to paint. On the right, we see the fishing nets so characteristic of the region; three years before, Monet had painted them from a point barely two kilometres away (see his views of Pourville: D. Wildenstein 768 and 770 of 1882). However, we should note the possible existence of a view of the *Cliffs*, which could also have been painted on the same beach (see *182*).
At all events, this landscape, whose location Gauguin specified when he signed it, may well be one of the first of the Dieppe campaign. Its square format is one of very few in Gauguin's career. The group of women bathing reappear in *179*; science has shown that they were painted in over the waves[2].

[1] J.-É. Blanche, *Propos de peintre. De Gauguin à la Revue nègre*, Paris, 1928, p. 5.
[2] This information is from the catalogue of the 1995 Musée d'Orsay exhibition of works from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, no. 28.

Documents and bibliography:

P. Adam: 'Les peintres impressionnistes', *La Revue contemporaine, littéraire et politique*, 4 April 1886, vol. IV, no. 4, pp. 545-546: '*Women Bathing*. The enormous metallic sea rolls and undulates, its sheets of water advancing on this group of sickly, weak creatures: women'.
F. Fénéon: 'Les impressionnistes', *La Vogue*, 13-20 June 1886, p. 267; the review was reproduced with few variants in the brochure *Les Impressionnistes en 1886*, Paris, October 1886 (J. Halperin: *Félix Fénéon. Oeuvres…*, Geneva, 1970, vol. 1, p. 33).
(?) J. Ajalbert; 'Le Salon des impressionnistes', *La Revue moderne*, 20 June 1886 (in Merlhès, 1984, p. 422, below): 'a small, light-toned seascape'. But this might equally refer to no. 59 in that exhibition, *Cliffs*.
(?) Gauguin to Mette, December 1887 or January 1888 (Merlhès 138): 'Sunday someone from Goupil came round Sunday who […] bought three pictures for 900 f and will (he says) buy more'. The other two may have been *Rocky Coast (235)* and *Mangoes (250)*, q.v.
F. Fénéon: 'Calendrier de décembre. V. Vitrines de marchands de tableaux', *La Revue indépendante*, 15 January 1888, p. 170: Fénéon cites '*Women Bathing* (1885), no. 53 of 8th impressionist exhibition', which he saw in December 1887 in the first-floor galleries of Boussod and Valadon.
Vincent to Theo van Gogh, [3 March 1888], 466: 'Would you dare buy the seascape for the firm?'
Vincent to Theo van Gogh, [24 March 1888], 471: 'I hope you will send him [Tersteeg, head of the Boussod and Valadon branch at The Hague] Gauguin's beautiful Seascape'.
Inventory book of Boussod et Valadon at The Hague (in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Dokumentatie, The Hague): 'Dieppe seascape [estimated] 300, [received] 6 April 1888 [from] B.V. Cie Bould [i.e. Boussod et Valadon et Compagnie, boulevard Montmartre]' (in both M.-E. Tralbault, 1960, below, which reproduces the page of the register mentioning this work, and Merlhès, 1984, below).
Ledger of receipts and disbursements, Boussod et Valadon (The Hague), p. 108 (Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Dokumentatie, The Hague): 'Dieppe seascape, ENN [probably code for the price: 300] fcs 500 [sent back] 9 June 1888 [to] B.V. Cie Bould'.
M.-E. Tralbault: 'Van Gogh. Un document inédit', *Connaissance des arts*, August 1960, pp. 12-13 (repr.).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 166 (repr.).
V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 478, note 245, subnote 4 (on the Boussod et Valadon, The Hague archives).

Displayed in December 1887 on the mezzanine of the Boussod and Valadon gallery (see Fénéon, 1888, **D** above).
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 6.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 22 or 24, depending on the edition.
Probably: Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 14 (*On the Breton Coast*).
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 29.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 27.

Provenance:

Boussod et Valadon, c. December 1887 (see Fénéon, 1888, **D** above); the question remains whether the work was on deposit for sale with Boussod or whether it had been bought from Gauguin in December (see Gauguin's letter, Merlhès 138, 1888, **D** above).
Sent by Boussod to its branch in The Hague in April 1888 as part of a consignment of ten impressionist paintings. No interest having been shown in these works, they were returned to Paris 9 June 1888 (see Boussod inventory and Tralbault, 1960, **D** above).
K.F. Caroe (1851-1921), doctor and historian of medicine (said to have known Mette Gauguin), Copenhagen.
Bequeathed by Caroe to the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, in 1921.
Deposited with the Glyptotek in 1922.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – SMK 3568.

Exhibitions:

8e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 53 (*Women Bathing*): though this title fits *179* better, several points suggest that the present work, which is the larger of the two, was chosen for the 1886 exhibition. In the first place, it is slightly closer to the description given by Adam (**D** above, 1886). Moreover, the 1888 documents cited above show that the Dieppe seascape, exhibited in 1886 and bought by Boussod before the end of 1887 (see Fénéon, 1888, **D**), was considered by both Vincent and Theo van Gogh (Theo was in charge of the Boussod and Valadon gallery in boulevard Montmartre) a successful and important work, a view befitting this painting rather than *179*. The central position of the bathers in this work might justify the use of the title *Baigneuses (Women Bathing)*.

179
Women Bathing, Dieppe

Canvas. 0.38 × 0.46
Signed and dated lower left:
P. Gauguin 85
W167

It seems possible that this study was completed before *178*, in which the same group appears, with the single exception of the one of the central figures. It has often been compared with a very daring work by Degas,

E. Degas: *Young Peasant Women Bathing* (Lemoisne 377). Private collection. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

179

Young Peasant Women Bathing in the Sea, Evening (Lemoisne 377), which might well have struck Gauguin during the 1877 Impressionist Exhibition.
Dorra (**D**) remarks on the simplification of the surfaces, which foreshadows the aesthetic towards which Gauguin was moving over the next few years. Cachin points out that these bathers outlined against the green of the sea prefigure *Ondine* (W336) of 1889[1]. A drawing of the same motif is held by the Musée Léon Dierx (Saint-Denis de La Réunion).

[1] F. Cachin, catalogue of the 1989 *Gauguin* exhibition, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, p. 158.

Documents and bibliography:
H. Dorra: 'Émile Bernard and Paul Gauguin', *GBA*, April 1955, pp. 229, 230 (repr.).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 167 (repr.).
The Old Matsukata Collection. Occidental Art [catalogue of the former Matsukata Collection], Kobe, Kobe City Museum, 1990, no. 701 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Paris, Galerie Dru, 1923, no. 5 (*Women Bathing*, 1885).
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Art Museum, 1987, no. 11.

Provenance:
The catalogue of the 1987 exhibition indicates that this painting was once in the hands of the Galerie Druet (stock number 7419); this information may come from a label stuck to the back of the picture. The stock number could be from around 1910.
Kojiro Matsukata, Paris.
Seized as enemy property by the French Government in 1944.
Returned to the Japanese authorities in 1959.
Tokyo, National Museum of Western Art – P.1959.104.

180
The Port, Dieppe

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.72
Signed lower right: *P Gauguin*
W169

180

The site today. Photo: Sophie Nicolaievitch.

The view is from the eastern end of the quai Henri IV; on the left, the Pollet quarter of Dieppe is visible, with the bell tower of Notre-Dame-des-Grèves.

Documents and bibliography:
Dannebrog, 27 March 1893, p. 3, and *København*, 27 March 1893, p. 3 [the work has been sold]; *København*, 28 May 1893, p. 2; *Politiken*, 27 March 1893, p. 1.
Mette Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 2 April 1893 (copy in the collection of the Tahiti Museum): 'The son of Pasteur, a Secretary at the Embassy, has bought a study of the port of Dieppe from me, which I brought back from my terrible Paris trip[of 1887]'.
H. Rostrup: 'Gauguin et le Danemark', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956 (published 1958), p. 80.
D. Sutton: 'Notes on P. Gauguin apropos a Recent Exhibition', *The Burlington Magazine*, March 1956, pp. 89, 91.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 169 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Den Frie Udstilling, Copenhagen, Free Exhibitions Building, 1893, no. 134.
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, 1955, no. 9 and London, Tate Gallery, 1955, no. 13.
Oslo, Kunstforeningen, 1955, no. 7.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 25.
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 17.
Gauguin og Van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 22.
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Museum of Art, 1987, no. 12.

Provenance:
Removed from Gauguin's flat in Paris by Mette Gauguin in April 1887 (she had briefly come to Paris to fetch Clovis) and taken back to Copenhagen (see 1893 letter, **D** above).
Sold by Mette to the son of Pasteur, Secretary at the French Embassy in Copenhagen, during the exhibition of March 1893 (see 1893 letter, **D** above).
Gustave Cahen, Paris.
Galerie Marcel Bernheim, Paris, 1925.
P. Duxbury, Bury, England.
Given by Mrs Duxbury in 1944 to:
Manchester (Great Britain), City Art Galleries – 1944.46.

181
Cliff near Dieppe

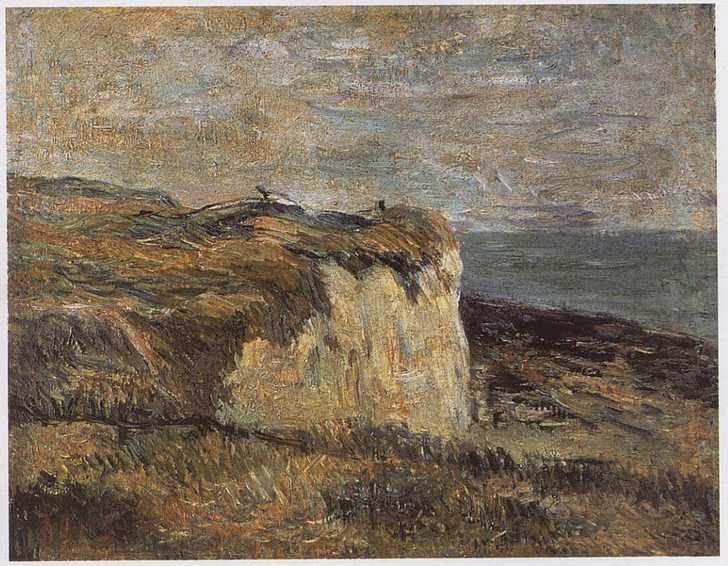
Oil on wood. 0.185 × 0.235
Signed lower left: *P. Gauguin*

It seems likely that this motif was found near Pourville or Varengeville, since most of Gauguin's work during his stay in Dieppe took place in that area. Though the subject fits the title, it seems unlikely that this very small painting was the one that appeared as *Cliffs* in the 8th Impressionist Exhibition of spring 1886 (see *182*).

Documents and bibliography:
É. Conan, J.-M. Gonin, Y. Stavridès: 'Le Secret des musées de Berlin', *L'Express*, 21 December 1990, pp. 58-72. Describes the systematic pillage of works of art by the Nazi authorities during the war, and the difficulty of obtaining restitution. The authors reveal the existence of a group of twenty-eight paintings, watercolours and drawings, which included this work. During the Nazi retreat, a Wehrmacht officer entrusted them to one of his soldiers, telling him to take them back to Germany and keep them till the officer could return and recover them. The officer never reappeared, and the soldier decided in 1972 to hand them over to Bishop Sollbach of Magdeburg, declaring, 'I am returning these paintings so that they are properly looked after until they can be returned to their legal owner in France'. The Bishop informed the authorities, and the works were placed in a chest at the Nationalgalerie in East Berlin. When the Iron Curtain came down, they were finally returned to France.

Exhibitions:
Le Paysage français de Corot à nos jours, Paris, Charpentier, 1942, no. 74 (*Cliff*).
Bilder aus Frankreich, [exhibition of twenty-eight works deposited with] Berlin, Nationalgalerie, 1991, no number.

Provenance:
Baron Léonino de Rothschild, Paris.
Placed in storage at the Grospiron repository by Baron Rothschild on 9 January 1942, with a collection of objects all of which were stolen by the German authorities on 16 October 1942.
Entrusted at the end of the war by a German officer to one of his soldiers, who carried them back to East Germany; this painting and twenty-seven others were handed over by the soldier to the Bishop of Magdeburg in 1972, then conserved in a vault at the Nationalgalerie of East Berlin from 1972 to 1994 (see **D** above).
Handed over with the other items to the French Foreign Ministry subsequent to a protocol signed in Berlin on 27 June 1994.
Immediately returned to the Baron's heirs.
Private collection, France.



181

182
Cliffs,
probably near Dieppe

Small painting

At the 1886 Impressionist Exhibition[1], Gauguin exhibited a picture entitled *Cliffs*: no. 59. This was probably the 'small, light-toned seascape' mentioned by the critic Ajalbert[2]. (Note that the other seascape in the exhibition, probably *Beach, Dieppe, 178*, was not particularly small.) The *Cliffs* are also mentioned by Fénéon in 1886, alas, without description[3].
We know that this was not the view of cliffs executed the previous year at La Bouille (*143*), since the latter had remained at Rouen. *181* seems *too* small either to have been exhibited or to have attracted the attention of the critics, and is not in any case a very good fit for the term 'seascape'.
Could *Cliffs* be the work of which Jacques-Émile Blanche (much later) wrote, 'I can still see in my mind's eye the little painting of the fishing beds which Pissarro showed me on the sly, and which Gauguin had painted so close to my house'[4]? The fishing beds do appear in *Beach, Dieppe (178)*, but this again seems too large a painting to match the small work that Blanche describes.
There may therefore exist a small, light-toned work painted in 1885 at the foot of the cliffs near Dieppe in which the fishing beds appear. But this is entirely hypothetical.

Dieppe beach, detail of an old postcard. The fishing beds mentioned by Blanche are just visible behind the jetty. Evidently, no resemblance with Gauguin's hypothetical work can be inferred.

[1] *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], spring 1886, Paris, 1 rue Laffitte.
[2] J. Ajalbert: 'Le Salon des impressionnistes', *La Revue moderne*, 20 June 1886 (in V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 422).
[3] F. Fénéon: 'Les impressionnistes', *La Vogue*, 13-20 June 1886, p. 267; this was reproduced with some variants in the brochure *Les Impressionnistes en 1886*, Paris, October 1886 (in J. Halperin: *Félix Fénéon. Oeuvres plus que complètes*, Geneva, 1970, vol. I, p. 33).
[4] J.-É. Blanche: *Propos de Peintre. De Gauguin à la Revue nègre*, Paris, 1928, p. 6.

Provenance:
(?) Shown by Camille Pissarro 'on the sly' to J.-É. Blanche on some occasion unknown (see above).
Disappeared.

183
White House

Canvas. 0.740 × 0.595
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 85
W165

This view was probably painted in the Varengeville area, where Gauguin seems often to have worked (see introduction to the Dieppe period); the dormer-windowed house depicted here is typical of the region. The same house perhaps appears in *184*.
We cannot help wondering whether this is the *Englishwoman's Castle* exhibited in 1886, and about the role played by this mysterious personage. Did Gauguin merely visit her? Or was she one of those with whom Gauguin stayed during his Dieppe campaign?

183

Documents and bibliography:
Probably: 'Les Vingtistes parisiens', *L'Art moderne*, 27 June 1886 (in V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 422): cites *The Castle* among the 'firmly painted' works.
'Berliner Kunstausstellungen', *Kunst und Künstler*, 1928, vol. XXVII, p. 72 (repr.): indicates the painting's presence in the Thannhauser exhibition.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 165 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Probably: *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 49 (*The Englishwoman's Castle*), unless this title refers to *184*.
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 12 (*House amid Trees*, 1885), see **D** above.

Provenance:
Was photographed by Druet-Vizzavona at the same time as *Stable (189)*, which tells us that these two works were in France at some point during the first third of the 20th century.
Sale, Amsterdam, Muller, 13 June 1933, no. 16.
Lefevre Gallery, London.
Lord Hollenden, London.
Lord Jersey, Jersey, c. 1943.
Private collection.

184
Geese in the Meadow

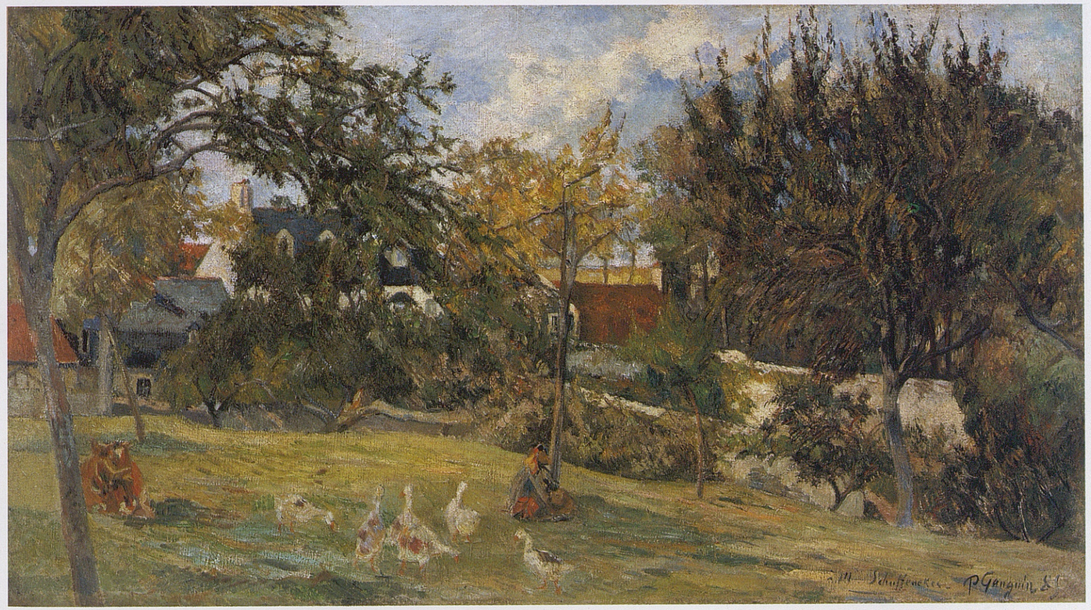
Canvas. 0.56 × 1.00
Signed, dated, and dedicated lower right:
à M. Schuffeneker P Gauguin 85
W161

The house in the background might be the one shown in *183*. The scene in any case strongly suggests the Varengeville area.

The spelling mistake in the dedication is unsurprising from Gauguin. However, the dedication to *M. Schuffeneker* rules out the painter Claude-Émile, one of Gauguin's closest friends (see *Basket of Flowers, 148*, inset), and must surely refer to his younger brother, Amédée; it is clear from certain letters of 1889 that Gauguin knew both brothers as well as their mother. Émile was a weak character, though he remained, in Gauguin's eyes, 'good old Schuff'. Amédée was a different kettle of fish (see inset page 222).

Documents and bibliography:
(?) M. Fouquier: 'Les impressionnistes', *Le XIXe siècle*, 16 May 1886 (in V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 421): 'Gauguin shows no lack of talent in *Près de la ferme*'.
If this is no. 49 of the 1886 Exhibition, see *183*.
(?) Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 228: 'Schuffenecker Landscape (given)'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 161 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 47 (*Near the Farm*) though this title might equally suit several pictures from Osny, Rouen or Dieppe or possibly no. 49 (*The Englishwoman's Castle*) which could equally be *183*.
Very probably: *Salon d'automne*, Paris, Grand Palais, 1906, no. 168 or 170 (*Normandy Landscape*, belonging to Schuffenecker), see also *203*.
Very probably: *Vincent Van Gogh and Paul Gauguin*, Munich, Galerie W. Zimmermann, March-April 1908, no. 16 or 17: *Norman Landscape* [in P. Kropmanns: *Gauguin und die Schule von Pont-Aven…*, Sigmaringen, 1997, p. 40; at p. 91, note 128, Kropmanns points out that, according to the article by Uhde-Bernays: 'Rundschau. München', *Monatsheften für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1908, no. 3, p. 203, the works in this exhibition belonged to Schuffenecker and certain of them had previously been exhibited in Mannheim and Berlin].



184

Not Quite the Gentleman

Born 22 November 1854, Léon Paul Amédée began life as a cider and wine merchant in Meudon. In the late 1890s, he noticed that the art-trade sometimes generated rather quicker profits than alcohol and he began to buy modern painting such as his brother was collecting. His purchases were suddenly inflated by the divorce requested by Louise Schuffenecker in 1899 and obtained in 1904. Émile and Louise had married under provisions of joint estate, and Louise therefore received half of Émile's superlative collection. Grossvogel tells us that she was anxious to realise its worth, and wanted to sell. Amédée then stepped in to 'save' the collection by buying it, assuring Émile that he could come and see the works 'whenever he wanted'[1]. (We do not know whether he bought the whole collection, or merely a half-share in it.)
In fact, it went directly into his business. Thereafter, he defined himself on his visiting cards as an 'art lover', but was in fact a dealer in paintings, musical instruments and furniture[2]. Collaborating closely with some of the major dealers of the time, he gradually sold many of the works in the collection.
Bruyez, whose close acquaintance with Émile dates from after 1900, tells us that Émile's collection 'did not make him a fortune, [but] at least earned his brother several million [francs]'[3]. But perhaps Émile had some share in the profits from these sales – especially if he still owned a half-share in the collection. In any case, despite some disagreement between the brothers – Émile accused Amédée of 'cuckolding' him over the collection – we know that in 1906 they travelled together to Holland to buy Van Gogh works from the latter's sister-in-law[4]. The interests of Émile's daughter Jeanne were not completely neglected, since she was named Amédée's sole heir (this may have been a proviso of Amédée's obtaining a share in the collection), and inherited the remaining works after her uncle's death. He died on 1 September 1936, once widowed and twice divorced; he had no children of his own, though his last divorce was from a mother of three children.
The way in which Amédée wrested control of the pictures from Émile has overtones of Jacob and Esau's 'pottage of lentils'[5]. His role in a later affair was no more edifying. Early in the 20th century, a number of 'posthumous' works signed 'Van Gogh' and 'Gauguin' appeared; they were painted by Émile, almost certainly at Amédée's instigation.

C.-É. Schuffenecker:
Portrait of his Brother Amédée, drawing.
Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

[1] J.-E. Grossvogel: 'Les desarrois du peintre Claude-Émile Schuffenecker', *Le Journal des arts*, 4 July 1997, p. 6.
[2] See the Schuffenecker catalogue by J.-E. Grossvogel, San Francisco, 2000, p. XLIX.
[3] R. Bruyez: 'Comment j'ai connu Schuffenecker', *Bulletin de la Société des amis de Meudon-Bellevue*, May 1937, p. 71.
[4] J.-E. Grossvogel, 1997, p. 6.
[5] Genesis 25, 34.

185
Farmyard

Canvas. 0.460 × 0.325
Signed lower right: *P Gauguin*

Painted in the same area as *183* and *184*. We only know this work from a photograph.

Exhibition:
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 48.

Provenance:
Private collection, Paris, c. 1960.
M.X. sale, Paris, Galliera, 19 June 1963, no. 3.
Schmidt, c. 1973.

186
Bare Trees

Canvas. 0.405 × 0.260
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 85
W172

This landscape, like *185*, shows both green foliage and bare trunks, and must have been painted in the same place. It also shows how carefully Gauguin had studied Cézanne's work; the vertical trunk that divides the canvas from top to bottom (perhaps for the first time in Gauguin's work) was doubtless inspired by Cézanne, for example, by *Auvers-sur-Oise Seen Through Trees* (Rewald 199). A more stylised version of this effect is found in certain later works (see *Two Women Bathing, 241*, inset, and *Blue Trees, 319*).

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe 1952), p. 228: drawing up a list of the works he had parted with, Gauguin noted: 'Bertaux […] Two Dieppe landscapes (given)'. This is undoubtedly Émile Armand Bertaux, on whom see *Flowers (96)*, inset.
Very probably: Vollard Archives, 1904 inventory: '3830. [Provenance:] Berteaux [*]. Breton landscape. C[anvas]. 40 × 25. 100 F'. The Vollard address book includes one 'Bertaux 83 boulevard de Courcelles', whose name was added after 1897.
Very probably: Vollard Archives, inventory of 1 January 1922: 'no. 4948. Landscape. Oil. 40 × 26. [Price FF] 1000'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 172 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Le Mouvement impressionniste dans l'école de Pont-Aven, Pont-Aven, Musée de Pont-Aven, 1978, no. 2.

Provenance:
This may be one of the two Dieppe landscapes given by Gauguin to Émile Armand Bertaux before 1888 (see sketchbook, **D** above).
It could be the *Breton Landscape* bought by Vollard from Berteaux or Bertaux along with another landscape (perhaps *Stream, 204*) for FF 100 each. This appears in the inventory of 1904 (**D**), but not that of 1899, and may therefore have been bought between those two dates. See also the 1922 inventory (**D**).
In any case: Vollard.
Bignou, Paris (no. 3326).
Gaston Nevins, New York.
Mrs Robert Foreman, New York.
Mrs Foreman sale, New York, Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, 2-4 May 1973, no. 57 (to the Galerie Krugier).
Sale [Galerie Krugier], Paris, Galliera, 28 May 1975, no. 178 (to the current owner).
Private collection, Paris.

Portland (Maine), Portland Museum of Art, The Joan Whitney Payson Collection, Maine. Gift of John Whitney Payson – 15.1991.4.

Provenance:
Very probably given by Gauguin to Amédée Schuffenecker.
W.J. Bilson, London, 1951.
Lady Baillie, Leeds Castle (England), 1955.
Joan Whitney Payson, New York, 1958.
Deposited with the Payson Gallery with promise of donation by John Whitney Payson in 1977.

185

186

P. Cézanne: *Auvers-sur-Oise Seen through Trees*, c. 1875 (Rewald 199). Madgeburg, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

187

187
Haymaking, near Dieppe

Canvas. 0.59 × 0.73
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 85

One suspects there is a stream at the bottom of the slope, while the sea is visible to the extreme right of this very typical view from the Dieppe hinterland.

Exhibitions:
Chefs-d'œuvre du musée d'Alger, Marseille, Musée Cantini, 1982-1983, no. 20.

Provenance:
Bought from Marcel Bernheim in 1930 by:
Alger, Musée National des Beaux-Arts d'Alger – IG 1013.

188
Stable near Dieppe I

Canvas. 0.35 × 0.27
Signed lower left: *P G.*
W163

Clearly drawn from nature, this little study of a stable with the traditional hayloft above it was reworked in *189*. The very brightly coloured tiles are characteristic of the Varengeville region (see introduction to this period).

Documents and bibliography:
Vollard Archives, 1899 inventory: '3523. [Provenance:] Heymann. oil: Trees [two illegible words] houses standing out against the grey-blue sky. 0.35 × 0.27 [Purchase price: FF] 25'.
Vollard Archives: 1904 inventory: '3866. [Provenance:] Heymann. Old landscape. 34 × 27. 25 F'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 163 (repr.).

188

189

Provenance:
Bought from Heymann by Vollard before 1899 and sold after 1904 (see Vollard inventories, D above). Heymann was a picture dealer, whose address is given in the Vollard address book as 3 rue Charles Nodier at Montmartre. He is know often to have bought works in collaboration with Portier.
Bought from Laporte by Bernheim-Jeune, 10 December 1927 (no. 24117).
Sold by Bernheim-Jeune to Thannhauser, 10 January 1928.
Dr A. Frey, Paris.
Bought in Paris by Graphisches Kunstkabinett (Vogt), Bremen.
Bought from above by Wilhelm Grosshennig Gallery, Dusseldorf, c. 1932.
Private collection, 1983.

189
Stable near Dieppe II

Canvas. 0.735 × 0.595
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin / 85
W162

This must be a repeat with variants, executed in the studio, of *188*. The profile of the branches against the building is the same as that in the smaller picture despite the apparent change in viewpoint, while the clump of vegetation in the foreground might be the work of memory rather than direct observation. The practice of carefully working up larger paintings from little studies made on the spot was widespread at the time, but is relatively rare in Gauguin's career (on repeats, see *Quarries, 86*, inset).

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 162 (repr.).

Provenance:
This picture was photographed (at the same as *White House, 183*, for what occasion we do not know) by Druet-Vizzavona, which suggests that the two paintings were present in France at some point during of the first third of the 20th century. However, according to those who owned it in 1990, it has long been in Scandinavia, and may have come from the Thaulow collection.
Stenensen (or Stenersen), Denmark.
Private collection.

190

190
Horse and Cow in Field

Canvas. 0.57 × 0.70
Signed and dated lower right:
P Gauguin 85
W157

This study may well have been painted, like the following pictures, in the Saâne valley, which is very open and full of gently sloping pasture-land.

Documents and bibliography:
Vollard Archives, 1894-1897 register, entry for 18 April 1895: 'Owed [by] monsieur Bauchy [for five landscapes including] 1 landscape by Gauguin (Horse and Ox) [FF] 500'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 157 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 13 (*Out to Grass*).

Provenance:
Vollard; bought from Vollard by Bauchy 18 April 1895 (see Vollard account book, D above).
Thannhauser, Berlin.
Private collection, Germany.
Sale, Frankfurt-am-Main, Prestel, 8 November 1929, no. 99.
Private collection, Munich, c. 1956.
Mr and Mrs Morton Downey, Southampton (Long Island), 1957.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 18 May 1990, no. 324.
Sale, New York, Christie's, 2 November 1993, no. 14.

191
Cows near Dieppe

Canvas. 0.64 × 0.80
Signed and dated lower left:
P Gauguin 85
W160

The little river in this and the next few pictures (*192* to *195*) must be the Saâne, which flows into the sea west of Varengeville. Even today, with its tree-lined meandering course, its gently sloping pasture-land studded with apple trees, and its old barns in yellow roughcast, roofed with Varengeville tiles, parts of this very open valley closely resemble the rural scenes depicted in this series (see also introduction to this period).

Documents and bibliography:
R. Darzens: 'Exposition des impressionnistes', *La Pléiade*, May 1886 (in V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 422): 'There are three superior studies in Monsieur Gauguin's submissions: *Cows at Rest [Vaches au repos]* and *[Cow]* in *the Water [Vache dans l'eau]*, and *Pond [Coin de mare]*'.
The detail 'pelts stretched out' in Fénéon's review for the *La Vogue*, June (see *Cows at the Watering Place, 192*, D) may have been suggested by this picture or by *192*.
É. Hennequin: 'Notes d'art. Les impressionnistes', *La Vie Moderne*, 19 June 1886, p. 390: '*Vaches au repos* and *Vache dans l'eau*, abruptly slapped down on fuliginous backgrounds, exhibit true fecundity of treatment'.
'Les Vingtistes parisiens', *L'Art moderne*, 27 June

191

1886 (in Merlhès, 1984, p. 422): the author was shocked by *Vaches au repos* and *Vache dans l'eau*, which he contrasts with the 'firmly painted' works (see *183*).
(?) Vollard Archives, sales register 1894-1897, entry for 5 February 1895: 'Owed by Monsieur Félix Roux [for five works including] 1 painting by Gauguin (*Vaches à l'abreuvoir* [*Cows at the Watering Place*, FF] 1000; entry for 15 May 1895: 'Owed by monsieur Félix Roux […] 1 frame for a Gauguin landscape (*Cows in the Fields*) [FF] 29.50'.
D. Hannema: *Catalogue of the D.G. Van Beuningen Collection*, Rotterdam, 1949, no. 150, pl. 191.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 160 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
8e exposition de peinture [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, either no. 43 (*Cows at Rest*, which might equally be *192*) or no. 44 (*Cow in the Water*, which might equally be *194*).
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Art Museum, 1987, no. 10.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 21.

Provenance:
(?) May be the *Cows at the Watering Place* bought from Vollard by Félix Roux on 15 February 1895 with four other works, for a total of FF 1000. In May, a FF 29.50 frame was added to this purchase, see Vollard Archives, D above.
Sale, Paris, Drouot, 11 December 1931, no. 24 (to Raphaël Gérard).
D.G. Van Beuningen, Vierhouten (Holland), c. 1949.
In 1958, entered:
Rotterdam (Holland), Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen – 2605.

The River Saâne.

192

192
Cows at the Watering Place

Canvas. 0.81 × 0.65
Signed and dated lower left:
p Gauguin 85
W158

This, too, is probably a view of the river Saâne (cf. *191*); *193* and *194* show the same place from slightly different angles. An unpublished page in a private collection carries a sketch in right profile which seems to have been the model for the animal in the centre.

Documents and bibliography:

If this is either *Cows at Rest* or *Pond (Coin de mare)*, both exhibited in 1886, see the reviews of this exhibition cited in the entries for *191* and *193*, **D**. F. Fénéon: 'Les impressionnistes', *La Vogue*, 13-20 June 1886, p. 267; the review was reprinted with some variants in the brochure *Les Impressionnistes en 1886*, Paris, October 1886 (J. Halperin: *Félix Fénéon. Oeuvres plus que complètes*, Geneva, 1970, vol. 1, p. 33): 'Leafy trees spring from damp, loamy fertile soils, pervading the canvas to the exclusion of the sky. The air is heavy. A glimpse of bricks suggests a nearby house; pelts stretched out under the sun, muzzles push aside the brush – cows. Constantly, the painter sets off the russet of the animals and roofs against his greens, mirroring them in the water that flows between the tree-trunks, its waters dense with fronds of weed'. (This may be a synthetic description of the impression left by several works.)
(?) Vollard Archives, sales register 1894-1897, dated 3 April 1895: 'Owed by monsieur G. Viau [for] 1 landscape with tree and houses (Gauguin) [FF] 400'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 158 (repr.).

Exhibitions:

The observation 'muzzles push aside the brush' in Fénéon's review (**D** above) tells us that this painting appeared in the *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, but not which painting is meant: it could refer to no. 43 (*Cows at Rest*, which might equally be *191*) or no. 45 (*Pond [Coin de mare]*, which could equally be *193*, *194*, or *196*).
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 23.
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Museum of Art, 1987, no. 9.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 20.

Provenance:

(?) May be the *Landscape with Tree and Houses* bought from Vollard by Viau, 3 April 1895, FF 400 (see Vollard Archives, **D** above).
Georges Viau sale, Paris, Durand-Ruel, 4 March 1907, no. 19 (to Druet).
Probably: Henri Aubry sale, Paris, Drouot, 7 April 1924, no. 83: *Cows at Pasture*, 0.80 × 0.64 (to G. Bernheim).
Sale, Paris, Drouot, 5 May 1933, no. 16 (*Watering Place*, 0.80 × 0.65, signed lower left and dated 85).
Carlos Grassi, 1933.
Given to the municipality of Milan by Nedda Grassi in 1956
Milan (Italy), Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna, Grassi Collection – NG 54.

193
Red Roof by the Water

Canvas. 0.82 × 0.66
Signed and dated lower left:
85 P Gauguin

Painted at the same place as *192* and *194*, but no doubt from the other side of the stream. All the characteristics of the Saâne valley – stream overshadowed by trees, yellow roughcast walls surmounted by orange-tinted roof tiles, and gently sloping pastures below forest – are present in this landscape.

Documents and bibliography:

(?) R. Darzens: 'Exposition des impressionnistes', *La Pléiade*, May 1886 (Merlhès, 1984, p. 422): 'There are three superior studies in Monsieur

193

194

Gauguin's submissions: *Cows at Rest [Vaches au repos]* and *[Cow]* in *the Water [Vache dans l'eau]*, and *Pond [Coin de mare]'*.
(?) G. Geffroy: 'Salon de 1886. Hors du Salon. Les impressionnistes', *La Justice*, 26 May 1886, p. 1: 'he has sought out… pond-side scenes [*coins de mare*]'.
H.-J. Müller ed.: *La Collection Rudolf Staechelin, Bâle*, (especially the contribution of Christian Geelhar), Basel, 1990, pp. 82-83 (repr.), 142, 156.

Exhibitions:
(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 45 (*Pond [Un coin de mare]*; this might equally be *192, 194*, or *196*).

Provenance:
Bernheim-Jeune.
Goldschmidt: probably Jakob Goldschmidt, Berlin.
Bought from Goldschmidt by Rudolf Staechelin, Basel, in 1918.
Rudolf Staechelin Family Foundation, Basel.

194
Watering Place I

Canvas. 0.595 × 0.725
Signed and dated lower right:
P Gauguin 86
[the date is difficult to read]
W191

This work is known to us only from a photograph on which the date is unclear. It is generally thought to read '86' yet the motif was painted during the summer of 1885, since the site is the one that appears in *192* and *193*. Gauguin painted a repeat of this work during the following winter: *203*.
There is an astonishing resemblance between the treatment of the foliage on the right here – a curtain of little diagonal strokes – and in a landscape painted a year later, *Lollichon Field (226)*. It is conceivable that Gauguin reworked the right hand part of this picture in 1886, after his return from Pont-Aven; this might explain the date that accompanies his signature. On the other hand, the treatment of the foliage may simply be a logical development of the forms in which he represented leafage during the summer of 1885; see, for example, *Cows at the Watering Place (192)*.

Documents and bibliography:
If this is the *Cow in the Water* or *Pond [Coin de mare]* from the 1886 exhibition, see the reviews of that exhibition cited at *191* and *193*, **D**.
Vollard Archives, 1899 inventory: '[no.] 3928 – Provenance: Schuffenecker – oil: 60 × 72 – Landscape: Two cows crossing a stream; in the background, a red house – Purchase price [FF] 200'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 191 (repr.).
The Old Matsukata Collection. Occidental Art [catalogue of the former Matsukata collection], Kobe, Kobe City Museum, 1990, no. 699 (repr.).

Foliage

Grasses and foliage clearly offer a particularly advantageous *locus* for technical experiment; the painter can brush, sculpt and structure their shifting masses to his or her heart's content. Gauguin took full advantage of this, and as early as his Pontoise, Osny and Rouen sojourns, we find vegetation recorded as a more or less multidirectional flux or matting. Cézanne's example inspired Gauguin in these experiments, though Gauguin never copied him. Here the little diagonal hatchings of the leaves, which frequently recur in Pont-Aven and Martinican paintings (see, for example, *Lollichon Field, 226*, and *Comings and Goings, 245)* clearly derive from Cézanne. Gauguin developed more or less opaque and sculpted variants of this technique and was still doing so as late as his Tahiti period.
Indeed, it was one of many techniques to which Gauguin returned as and when his art required, sometimes combining these different effects: foliage is represented at different stages by competing surges, by vertical curtains of dots, by flame-shapes or outlined areas of colour, and with greater or lesser relief.

195
Père Jean's Path

Canvas. 0.81 × 0.65
Signed and dated lower right:
P Gauguin 85
W155

We have retained the title under which Pierre Bracquemond sold this work to Bernheim-Jeune; such precision suggests that its source may have been Gauguin himself. Does this name belong to a real place? Or does it allude to some acquaintance of Gauguin's? It will be remembered that a mysterious Jean bought several Dieppe pictures of cows (see introduction to this period), though Jean is far too common a name to lend much credence to this identification. At all events, this landscape, with its stream overshadowed by trees, the bright red roof reflected in the stream, and, on the right, the beech-stand on the field-horizon, is entirely typical of the Saâne valley.

Documents and bibliography:
Gauguin to Mette, first fortnight of July 1886 (Merlhès 99): 'I was a big success with the artists [at the 1886 exhibition]. Mr Braquemont* the engraver enthusiastically bought a picture for 250 f'.
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 226 '[sold to] Bracquemond Landscape

Exhibitions:
(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 44 *(Cow in the Water*, which could equally be *191*) or no. 45 (*Pond [Un coin de mare]*, which could equally be *193* or *196*).

Provenance:
Bought from Schuffenecker by Vollard before 1899 (see Vollard Archives, **D** above).
(?) E. Blot sale, Paris, Drouot, 10 May 1906, no. 30 (*Watering Place, Brittany*, to Druet): the dimensions given are 46 × 55, but the description, which mentions the presence of two cows, fits this painting better than *203*.
Kojiro Matsukata.
Private collection, Japan.
Fukuoka Broadcasting Corporation, Fukuoka (Japan), c. 1990.
Private collection.

195

196

Dieppe [FF] 200' [despite the price discrepancy, it must be the sale mentioned in the letter cited above, the other sales to Bracquemond noted on the same page being for still smaller amounts).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 155 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Probably: *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886; since it was bought during the exhibition (see letter of 1886, **D** above), this painting no doubt appeared in it. It may have been no. 58: *Farm Lane [Le Chemin de la ferme]*, though this might equally be *Donkey by the Lane (199)*.

Provenance:
Bought from Gauguin by the engraver Félix Bracquemond during the 1886 exhibitions (see Gauguin's notebook and letter, **D** above). On the friendship of Gauguin and Bracquemond, see *Sèvres, 214.*
Sold by Pierre Bracquemond to Bernheim-Jeune, 31 March 1919 (no. 21485).
Bought from Bernheim-Jeune by Mohamed Mahmoud Bey Khalil, Cairo.
Bequeathed by the widow of Mahmoud Khalil to the Egyptian state in 1960.
Giza (Egypt), Museum of Mohamed Mahmoud Khalil and his Wife – 64.

196
Boy by the Water

Canvas. 0.65 × 0.81
Signed and dated lower left:
P. Gauguin 85
W153

Certainly painted not far from the place shown in *195*. Gauguin painted a slightly smaller repeat in 1886: *209*.

Documents and bibliography:
If this is the *Pond [Coin de mare]* exhibited in 1886, see the reviews cited for *193*.
W. Barth: *Paul Gauguin. Das Leben, der Mensch und der Künstler*, Basel, 1929, pl. VIII.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 153 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, perhaps as no. 45 (*Pond [Coin de mare]*, which might equally be *192, 193* or *194*).
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 20 or 22 (depending on the edition).
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 10.

Provenance:
Devillez, Mons, c. 1928 (according to the first edition of the Basel exhibition catalogue).
Galerie Zak, Paris, c. 1928 (according to the second edition of that catalogue); this fits with the information given in Barth, above, stating (1929) that the work was on the Parisian art market.
Richard Nathanson, London, c. 1998.
Private collection.

197
Forest Edge

Canvas. 0.81 × 0.65
Signed and dated lower right:
P Gauguin 85 (the figure *5* has disappeared as a result of cleaning)
W151

A relatively old label stuck to the back of the picture gives this title. This landscape must have been painted close to the site of *Lane (198)*. The donkey also figures in *199*.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 151 (repr.).

Provenance:
Galerie Georges Petit, c. 1920.
Kojiro Matsukata, Tokyo and Paris.
Mr and Mrs Morton Downey, New York.
Mrs Morton Downey sale, New York, Christie's, 19 November 1986, no. 14.
Sale, New York, Christie's, 15 November 1988, no. 22.

198
Lane in the Beech Stand

Canvas. 0.55 × 0.46
Signed and dated lower left:
P Gauguin 85
W150

These trees with their round crowns and straight trunks are beeches, a species widespread in the Dieppe region. The beech wood at Offranville is one of the most accessible from Dieppe or Varengeville. Gauguin may have found this scene not far from that of *Forest Edge (197)*.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 150 (repr.).

Provenance:
Bequeathed by Dr. Othmar and Valérie Häuptli in 1983 to:
Aarau (Switzerland), Aargauer Kunsthaus, Aarau – 3813.

197

198

199

199
Donkey by the Lane

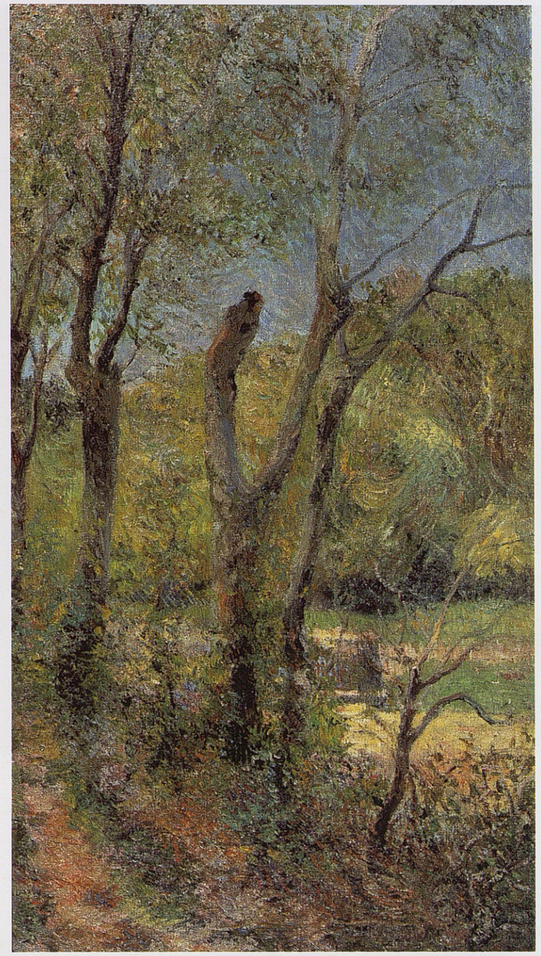
Canvas. 0.81 × 0.65
Signed and dated lower left: *P. Gauguin 85*
W152

This is the same subject as *198* but slightly larger; the addition of a donkey gives a more 'composed' air. It may therefore have been painted after *198*. The brown stacks beside the lane in *198*, of indefinable nature but almost certainly derived from observation, have been left out of this painting. The donkey would seem to have been introduced in order to animate the landscape and may have been borrowed from *197*; we cannot rule out a sketch from nature, but none is currently known. The contrast between the scale of the donkey and that of the human figure on the lane is a result of the transposition of the latter from *198*, where it was already abnormally small. We might contrast this with the kind of experiment so deliberately undertaken in *Winter (265)*. On the subject of repeats, see *Quarries (86)*, inset.

Documents and bibliography:
If it appeared in the 1886 exhibition, this may be the painting that inspired P. Adam's observation, 'Elsewhere, the space between the trunks of the sturdy trees is pervaded with the scarlet of the setting sun' ('Les peintres impressionnistes', *La Revue contemporaine, littéraire et politique*, 4 April 1886, vol. IV, no. 4, p. 545).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 152 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 58 (*Le Chemin de la ferme [Farm Drive]*, which might equally be *195*).
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 24.
Vienna, Belvedere, 1960, no. 5.
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Art Museum, 1987, no. 8.

Provenance:
Charles Dosbourg, Paris: Dosbourg, who was introduced to Gauguin by Maufra, took over Le Barc de Boutteville's gallery after Le Barc's death in October 1896.
C. Dosbourg sale, Paris, Drouot, 10 November 1897, no. 18 (*Resting Donkey*).
Laurent sale, Paris, Drouot, 8 December 1898, no. 11.
Sold by Bernheim-Jeune to Broekmans, 23 February 1920 (nos. 423 and 21814).
Sale, Amsterdam, Muller, 19 May 1920, no. 135.
Mrs Kröller-Müller, 1921.



200

Given to the Dutch state by the Kröller-Müller Foundation, which was set up in 1928; in 1937 the painting entered **Otterlo (Netherlands), Kröller-Müller Museum – 166.00.**

200
Willows

Canvas. 0.895 × 0.480
W156

Documents and bibliography:
H. Hannema: *Catalogue of the D.G. Van Beuningen Collection*, Rotterdam, 1949, no. 139, pl. 189.
Wildenstein 1964, no. 156 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
It is logical to suppose that this painting appeared in the *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, as no. 46 (*Willows*), but J. Ajalbert's description of the work exhibited would seem firmly to identify it as *100*, which dates from 1883.
Gauguin, les XX et La Libre Esthétique, Liège, Salle Saint-Georges, 1994-1995, no. 6.

Provenance:
D.G. Van Beuningen, Vierhouten (Holland).
Mrs D.G. Van Beuningen.
A.E. Van Beuningen-Charlouis, Rotterdam.
Collection P.Y. Chichong, Tahiti: on loan to the Musée départemental Maurice Denis 'Le Prieuré', Saint-Germain-en-Laye, c. 1994.

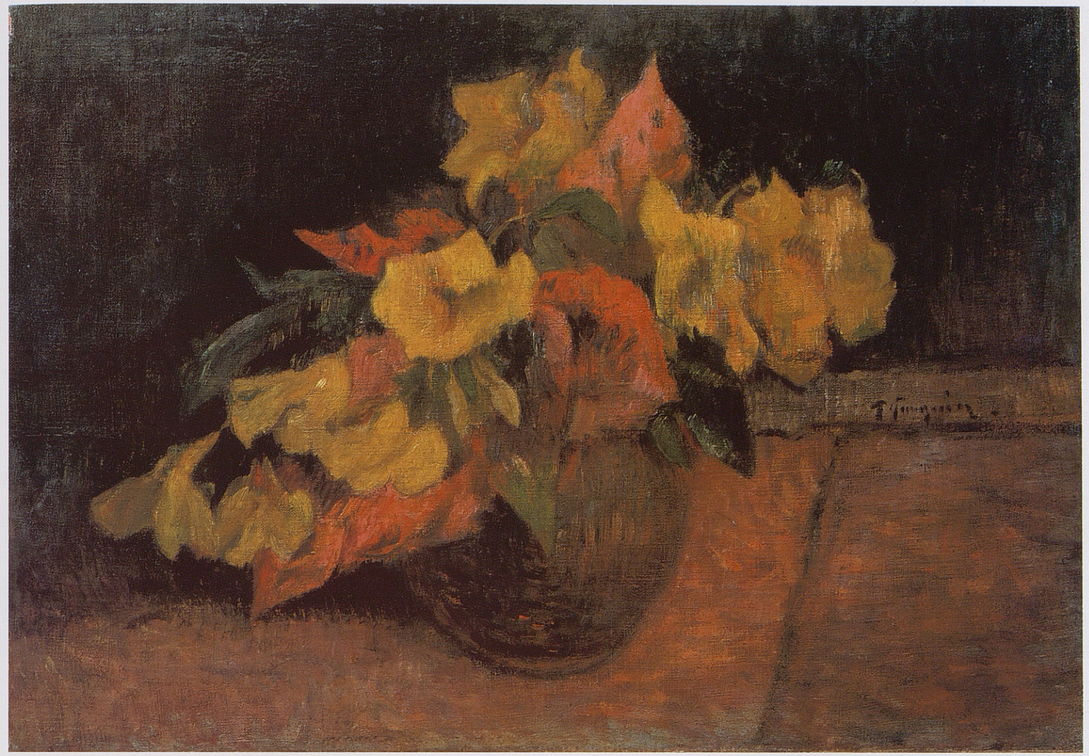
201

201
Dahlias in a Copper Vase

Canvas remounted on panel.
0.715 × 0.585
Signed and dated lower right:
p Gauguin 85
W175

Since dahlias flower from July to the first frosts, this still life certainly postdates Gauguin's return to France. It was therefore painted either in Dieppe, at the house of Gauguin's unknown host, or in the bare little apartment on rue Cail into which Gauguin and his son moved around mid-October. The first hypothesis seems the more likely, on the grounds not merely of the very transparent light that prevails in this work, but of the conditions under which Gauguin was living at rue Cail. In November, he wrote that he was still sleeping wrapped in a blanket on a mattress placed directly on the floor, 'without furniture' and with only 'the four walls to cheer us up'[1]. It thus seems unlikely that he had installed a vase and chest of drawers before the first frosts.

[1] Gauguin to Mette, mid-November 1885 (Merlhès 89).



202

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 175 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 18.
Tokyo, Kyoto and Fukuoka, 1969, no. 9.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 19.

Provenance:
Mr and Mrs Arthur Sachs, Paris, c. 1960.
Sale, Arthur Sachs and Marian François-Poncet, New York, Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, 28 November 1973, no. 12 (bought in).
Mme Bernard François-Poncet, Paris.
Sale, New York, Christie's, 14 November 1989, no. 36.
Private collection, c. 1998.

202
Evening Primroses in a Vase

Canvas. 0.32 × 0.46
Signed centre right: *P Gauguin.*
W181

The technique and signature of this still life fit the year 1885 perfectly, and must in any case be situated in the period 1884-1886. If this work is indeed from 1885, as seems likely, it must have been painted during the summer, at Dieppe. The flowers are evening primoses or *oenothera* (Onagraceae), Monsieur Lemattre tells us: 'The carriage of the stalks, the form of the leaves, the dimension and colour of the flowers […]', he writes, 'leave no doubt: they are *Oenothera missouriensis*, which flower between July and late September […] These plants manifestly betoken the garden of an extremely well-informed plant-lover'. They may also suggest the Varengeville area, since it enjoys a microclimate particularly favourable to horticulture. Whence came this bouquet of a relatively rare species? From man or woman? Was one of Gauguin's hosts the provider? (See introduction to the period.)

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 181 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Art Museum, 1987, no. 13.

Provenance:
Jacques Tasset, Montmorency – the engraver Tasset was a friend of Émile Bernard.
Lazarus Phillips, Montreal.
Private collection, Tokyo.

Return to Paris (September 1885-July 1886)

Gauguin returned to Paris in late September 1885 and remained there until July 1886. The material difficulties he then faced (for a description, see the portrait of *Clovis, 208*) were such that he completed only a small number of paintings; some twelve or thirteen for a period of nine and a half months. He was so short of money that he had to return to paid work, which must have prevented him painting for at least two and a half months (see *The Boss's Daughter, 207*).

In addition to a number of portraits of rather forthright brushwork, certain mysterious paintings that we have failed to localise (*Stream, 204*; *Snow, 210*; *Fire, 211* and *212*) might also be assigned to this period. They are works whose rather undifferentiated style can perhaps be ascribed to the speed with which they were painted. This period, too, would seem to be the place for two studio repeats (*203* and *209*) in which Gauguin, as he often did, allowed himself considerable stylistic licence (see *Quarries, 86*, inset on repeats).
Gauguin provisionally aligned himself with the Neo-Impressionist avant-garde in his experiments with pointillism, but this was a short excursus and very few works exhibit the technique in its strictest form. In fact, Gauguin seems at the same time to have been setting down his own line of thought: see the portrait of *Clovis (208)*, inset on 'the Gauguin paper'.
Gauguin's portrait of his son is undoubtedly one of the most affecting and interesting of this period. But its instinctive primitivism is so far ahead of the other pictures painted during his 1885-1886 stay in Paris that one wonders if it should be dated to the following winter. Indeed, the only factor suggesting a date in early 1886 is the very few Paris visits that Clovis is known to have made during the winter of 1886-1887.

◀ *Still Life with Horse's Head (216)*, detail.

203

203
Watering Place II

Canvas. 0.46 × 0.55
Signed and dated lower left:
85 p Gauguin
W159

Though the subject here is shared with *194*, the brushwork is very different from that of the works painted from nature during the summer of 1885. It shows the rather overt brushstrokes that sometimes appear in Gauguin's repeats (see the 1886 *Quarries, 86*, inset). This must therefore be the second version of the motif. The format is somewhat reduced and the subject is simplified by the omission of one of the cows. There is a certain kinship with *Calf and Cow, Riverbank (209)*, which is similar in manner and also a second version of a larger landscape painted in Dieppe. They are of the same format and thus something of a pair. Works paired by identical format and similar subject, style or composition are rare in Gauguin's *œuvre* of this period, the exception being the two Breton landscapes, *229* and *231*. One wonders whether these two repeats were motivated by a prospective sale or made for purposes of stylistic experiment, like the 1882 repeats (see *Quarries, 86*, inset). There is nothing to tell us when they were painted, but it seems likely that they date from Gauguin's Paris stay, when he no longer had access to open-air motifs. Do they both date from the autumn or winter of 1885-1886? This might explain why *Watering Place* is dated 1885, while *Waterside* seems to be dated 1886. Either *Waterside* was signed some time after its completion, or the two works were painted at different times.

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 228: '[sold to] Schuffenecker cow and boy [FF] 100'
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 159 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *Salon d'automne*, Paris, Grand Palais, 1906, no. 168 or 170 (*Normandy Landscape*, sold to Schuffenecker). One of these two could be *184*; the other could be the present work, but might equally be another unidentified landscape, since Schuffenecker lent to the 1908 exhibition cited below a *Watering Place [Abreuvoir]* and two *Norman Landscapes*.
(?) *Vincent Van Gogh und Paul Gauguin*, Munich, W. Zimmerman gallery, March-April 1908, no. 20: *Watering Place* [in P. Kropmanns: *Gauguin und die Schule von Pont-Aven*, Sigmaringen, 1997, p. 40; p. 91, note 128, Kropmanns notes that in Uhde-Bernays' article 'Rundschau. München', *Monatsheften für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1908, no. 3, p. 203, it is said that the paintings in this exhibition belonged to Schuffenecker, and that certain of them had already been exhibited at Mannheim and Berlin].

Provenance:
(?) Schuffenecker (see Gauguin's notebook, D above).
(?) E. Blot sale, Paris, Drouot, 10 May 1906, no. 30 (to Druet): the dimensions specified are 46 × 55, but the description, which mentions the presence of two cows, fits *194* better.
Mme Besnard sale, Paris, Drouot, 5 June 1923, no. 61.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 4 July 1962, no. 73 (to Truman).
James H. Clark, Dallas (Texas), c. 1964.
The Dallas Museum sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, 26 October 1967, no. 21.
Sale, Paris, Drouot-Montaigne, 15 June 1991, no. 33 (to P.Y. Chichong).
Paul Yeou Chichong, Tahiti.

204
By the Stream, Autumn

Canvas. 0.46 × 0.38
Signed and dated lower left:
P. Gauguin 85
W171

Monsieur Lemattre tells us that the trees are poplars, whose foliage attains the golden yellow here depicted only in autumn. The presence of a carpet of leaves under the trees and the red-tinged foliage in the background confirm the season.
With these pieces of information, our certainties end. Localisation is difficult. Was this work painted near Dieppe? It may have belonged to a certain Bertaux (who may be Émile Armand Bertaux, an old friend to whom Gauguin gave two Dieppe landscapes – see *Flowers, 96*), which means that one cannot exclude Dieppe. But had the poplars of Dieppe attained this autumnal brilliance by the time Gauguin left Dieppe in late September 1885? The style, moreover, is not typical of Gauguin's Dieppe sojourn. The region depicted might be that of the no less mysterious river view *211*, which is stylistically not dissimilar; but *211* is dated 1886.
The further question arises whether, despite the date in Gauguin's hand, this picture was painted in 1886, and therefore perhaps in Pont-Aven, where Gauguin stayed until mid-October. It might then be related to a work described in the memoirs of A.S. Hartrick:

204

'I remember he painted a panel for the dining-room of the auberge [Gloanec], an autumn landscape, which appeared to most of us who fed there as being very extreme in its crude exaggeration of purple and gold, though of course it was nothing compared with that to which we were soon to become accustomed'[1]. But this painting is, unlike the one Hartrick describes (in long retrospect, it should be said) canvas not panel. Moreover it does not resemble the Pont-Aven works in either the landscape it depicts or the brushwork it employs.
The style is spontaneous and rather unspecific; it tells us little about the date. It thus seems simplest to catalogue the work in the year indicated by the signature. It was painted either in Dieppe, or on Gauguin's return to Paris in early October 1885, during a country excursion that has left no record. In which case the rich colours of the foliage at least prefigure the golds and purples found so astonishing by the guests at the auberge Gloanec.

[1] A.S. Hartrick: *A Painter's Pilgrimage through Fifty Years*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 32.

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Gauguin's sketchbook, 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 228: Gauguin drew up a list of the works with which he had parted, and noted: 'Bertaux [...] Two Dieppe landscape* (given)'. This must

be Émile Armand Bertaux, on whom see *Flowers (96)*.
(?) Vollard Archives, 1904 inventory: '[no.] 3831. [Provenance:] Berteaux.* Brittany Landscape. C[anvas]. 46 × 38. 100 F'. The Vollard address book includes one 'Bertaux 83 boulevard de Courcelles', whose name was added after 1897.
(?) Vollard Archives, inventory of 1 January 1922: 'no. 4341. Landscape. Oil. 46 × 38. [valued at FF] 1500'
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 171 (repr.).

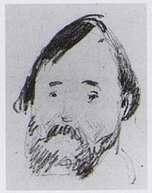
Provenance:
It may be one of the two Dieppe landscapes given by Gauguin to Émile Armand Bertaux before 1888 (see Gauguin's sketchbook, **D** above).
It may be the *Brittany Landscape* bought by Vollard from Berteaux or Bertaux with another landscape (perhaps *Trees, 186*) for FF 100 each; the *Brittany Landscape* appears in the 1904 inventory (**D** above) but not in that of 1899, and may therefore have been bought between those two dates. See also the 1922 inventory.
In any case: Vollard.
Mme de La Chapelle, c. 1956.
V. Horowitz, New York.
Sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, 21 October 1971, no. 97a.

205

Portrait of Achille Granchi-Taylor

Canvas. 0.465 × 0.555
Signed and dated lower right:
P Gauguin 85
Above the signature, some traces of the original dedication (*à il Signor Achille / amicalement*) are visible; it was painted over by the dedicatee, see Granchi-Taylor's letter of 1920, **D** below
W136

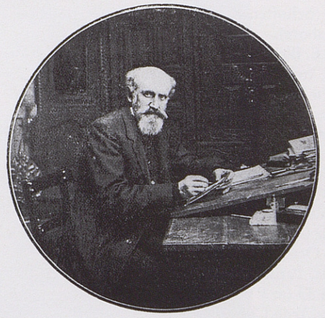
Born in Lyon of Anglo-Italian descent, Achille Jean Dominique Granchi-Taylor (1857-1921) was at first deflected from his ambition to paint by his mother's prudence and poverty. Instead, like Gauguin, he began work as a stockbroker. But he soon gave up the Bourse, and in 1888 first exhibited at the Salon, where he was catalogued as a pupil of Cormon[1]. His career on the stock market was one source of his friendship with Gauguin, who was ten years his elder.
Granchi seems to have been a good-natured fellow. When, with the onset of winter, Gauguin wished to work on portraiture ('it's winter and I can't paint without models', he told his wife in late December)[2], Granchi was obliging enough not only to pose but to pay for the work 'with a generous supply of paints' (see Granchi letter, **D**).
From the same letter we learn that it took Gauguin eight sessions to achieve this relatively 'finished' painting; many of Gauguin's works were, we may reasonably suppose, painted substantially quicker. The portrait sessions must surely have taken place in December. It also seems likely that this was the portrait that Marie Uribe so disliked, when she visited her brother in his modest apartment at 10 rue Cail: 'I had just finished a portrait of a man, which she of course found quite horribly Impressionist', Gauguin reported to Mette[3], though this could also refer to the little *Portrait of Philibert Favre (206)*.
The choice of lighting and the landscape format are somewhat unusual, and perhaps derive from an urban Impressionist tradition in the manner of Caillebotte. The background decoration resembles that of another portrait of the same period, *The Boss's Daughter (207)*, and is of a kind by now familiar in Gauguin's work (see *Apples, Jug, 144*). In Gauguin's sketchbook of 1884-1886[4], we find Granchi depicted from a similar angle; the drawing probably dates from the winter of 1885-1886 and may have been made in preparation for the portrait (but a date during Gauguin's



Sketch of Granchi-Taylor. Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 14, detail. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

Gauguin's Friend Granchi

Gauguin and Granchi had met in Paris (see *205*); they met again in Pont-Aven six months after the execution of this portrait. They may have travelled there together during the summer of 1886[1], or Granchi may have come to join Gauguin from Concarneau, as Delavallée reports[2]. During his stay in Pont-Aven, Granchi 'caused a great sensation in the region, less for his paintings than for his working clothes; he used to paint wearing a frock coat and clogs, with a tall Yokohama hat on his head'[3]. He presented the young Émile Bernard to Gauguin, who found him of no interest[4].
During that summer Granchi and Gauguin had a 'serious falling out', leading Granchi (**D**) to efface the original dedication. No doubt the matter was not so very grave, since, two years later, when they again met at Pont-Aven (Gauguin arrived in January 1888, and Granchi in March, as we know from the local press)[5], they seem both to have calmed down. In a letter written in the summer of 1888, Gauguin mentions Granchi without a trace of animosity[6].
According to Granchi, however, the reconciliation took place only in 1894; his letter (**D**) also informs us that, before Gauguin was injured in a brawl in Concarneau that year, he was planning to visit Granchi.
Granchi lived in Concarneau for thirty years, and specialised in scenes of local activities such as fishing. Despite his love of the place, he was forced to spend the last years of his at Asnières, as his wife found the Breton climate too much for her.
From an early age, Granchi had shown 'a highly-developed sense of caricature', while his Parisian sketches – 'suburban figures, old gossips grimacing, and young shopgirls in outline' – and his series of 'little paintings of scenes from dance-halls and fairs' exhibited considerable verve[7]. From the first he was a sterling and incisive draughtsman capable of the most elaborate compositions. The realism of his Breton subjects is all but political, and though his style is neither aesthetically adventurous nor leavened by humour, it is both exact and humane.
Late in his life, Granchi showed a 'a morose gravity that found expression in the very timbre of his voice [...] Along with the kindness one sensed in him, there was an air not of discouragement or weariness but of disappointment [...] [He was] very modest but nonetheless proud [...], it was not in him to request honours, and he was pained that the talents he consciously possessed should [...] never have attracted official recognition'[8]. His work had indeed been little acknowledged: a few honourable mentions and second and third class medals during the 1890s, and the Rosa Bonheur prize in 1900.



Granchi-Taylor from his studio. Photo: V. Giffard. Ville de Concarneau.

A. Granchi-Taylor: *Breton Women of Pont-Aven Sitting before the Fire.* Photo: Hôtel des ventes de Brest.

[1] See Granchi's letter (**D**).
[2] C. Chassé: *Gauguin en son temps*, Paris, 1955, p. 41.
[3] Chassé, 1955, p. 41.
[4] É. Bernard: 'Notes sur l'École dite de Pont-Aven', *Mercure de France*, December 1903, p. 677.
[5] 'Chronique régionale', *L'Union agricole et maritime*, 4 March 1888, p. 3.
[6] Gauguin to Vincent Van Gogh, 24-25 July 1888 (Merlhès 158).
[7] A. Dupouy: 'Deux peintres de Concarneau', *La Bretagne touristique*, 15 December 1922, p. 24.
[8] Dupouy, 1922, p. 24.

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1886 Pont-Aven campaign cannot be ruled out).

[1] On Granchi, see C. Chassé: *Gauguin en son temps*, Paris, 1955, pp. 41-42; H. Perruchot: *La Vie de Gauguin*, Paris, 1961, pp. 125-126; H. Belbeoch: *Les Peintres de Concarneau*, Quimper, 1993, pp. 68-71.
[2] Gauguin to Mette, 20 December 1885 (Merlhès 91).
[3] Gauguin to Mette, 20 December 1885 (Merlhès 91).
[4] Gauguin's sketchbook 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald, 1962), p. 14.

Documents and bibliography:
Probably: Gauguin to Mette, c. 20 December 1885, Merlhès 91, above.
Granchi-Taylor to C. Reitz, Asnières, 6 February 1920, copy in the collection of the Basel Museum: 'Gauguin told me (in 1885) that he was going to work on portraits, and offered, as a friend, to paint mine, which I accepted – in the 8th session, when he signed, he put the following dedication: / – *à il signor Achille/ amicalement* –
'Having both left for Pont-Aven, we subsequently had a serious falling out there; I told him that, despite everything, his portrait would still have a place of honour in my house, to which he replied "Do what you like, but consider the dedication withdrawn".
'Since I had insisted, when I took possession of the work, on paying for it (with a handsome supply of paints), rightly or wrongly I felt that, under those conditions, I was entitled to remove the dedication, using a couple of strokes to blend it with the background./ All the same, it hasn't completely disappeared, and with careful scraping would certainly reappear.
'This was when Gauguin's first trip to Martinique (as a painter) took place. […]
'On his return to Pont-Aven, he one day came on foot to Concarneau, where I was living; I was told he intended to visit me, and then I learnt that he had had his leg broken by drunken sailors./ I could hardly fail to go and see him at Pont-Aven, where we were reconciled./ I had been meaning to ask him, when he recovered, to put the dedication back in, since it had effectively been eliminated on our [?] instructions. But I had to go to Paris and stay there for a while./ A few months went by – he left again for […] Taïti* and we never met again./ There you have in brief what relates to the portrait that I had in my studio at Pont-Aven, and Concarneau, and have had here since 1886. […]/ I've had several opportunities to part with it, and maybe I will, but I shall be sorry to see it go.
'The frame is the very one that Gauguin ordered for me, just the way he wanted it'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 136 (repr.).

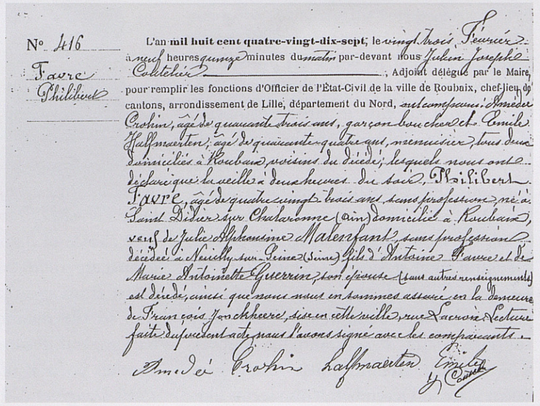
Exhibitions:
Paris, Galerie Dru, 1923, no. 4.
Paris, Association Paris-Amérique latine, 1926, no. 15.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 23 or 25, depending on the edition.
Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1949-50, no. 8.
Lausanne, Musée cantonal des Beaux-Arts, 1950, no. 11.

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to Achille Granchi-Taylor, who in exchange gave Gauguin a generous supply of paints (see Granchi letter, D above).
Henri Cottereau, Paris, c. 1928.
Bought from Lucas Lichtenhahn in 1930 by: **Basel (Switzerland), Kunstmuseum Basel – 1551.**

206
Portrait of Philibert Favre

Canvas. 0.325 × 0.245
Signed and dated upper left:
P Gauguin 85
W137

Philibert Favre was the father of a very old friend of Gauguin's, 'le Marsouin', Claude Antoine Favre, whom Gauguin portrayed in 1877 (*43*).
Philibert was the son of Antoine Favre and Marie-Antoinette Guerrin. He was born in 1814 in Saint-Didier-sur-Chalaronne, a little town in the Ain. By twenty-six, he was a silk merchant in Paris; on 1 December 1840, he married Julie Alphonsine Malenfant at the church of Saint-Roch. Born in Pointe-à-Pitre to a mother of Polish descent, Julie was five years younger than her husband. (Her Polish connections were clearly not cultivated, since, on his wife's decease, Philibert declared himself unable to remember her parents' names.) Julie bore him at least two sons, who figure in the electoral lists for Neuilly where the Favre household was established during the early 1870s, first at 17 avenue Sainte-Foy, and subsequently at 29 rue Perronnet. They were Jules Antoine Édouard, born 26 May 1844 in Paris, and Claude Antoine Charles


N° 416
Favre
Philibert

L'an **mil huit cent quatre-vingt-dix-sept**, le vingt trois Janvier à neuf heures quinze minutes du matin par-devant nous Julien Joseph Celestin [illegible], Adjoint délégué par le Maire, pour remplir les fonctions d'Officier de l'État-Civil de la ville de Roubaix, chef-lieu de cantons, arrondissement de Lille, département du Nord, est comparu Amédée Crohin, âgé de quarante trois ans, garçon boucher, Emile Hallmarten, âgé de quarante quatre ans, menuisier, tous deux domiciliés à Roubaix, voisins du décédé, lequel nous ont déclaré que ledit jour d'hui vingt trois du présent mois à deux heures du soir, Philibert Favre, âgé de quatre vingt trois ans, sans profession, né à Saint Didier sur Chalaronne (Ain) domicilié à Roubaix, veuf de Julie Alphonsine Malenfant, sans profession, décédé à Neuilly sur Seine (Seine) fils de Antoine Favre et de Marie Antoinette Guerrin, son épouse (sans autres renseignements sur le décès, ainsi qu'aucun mariage en connaissance) est décédé en la demeure de Francois Jonckheere, rue Lacroix Lecture faite du présent acte nous l'avons signé avec les comparants –
Amédée Crohin Hallmarten Emile

Entry for the death of Philibert Favre, register of deaths, Roubaix town-hall.

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(born 1847, 'le Marsouin'), the model for *43*. Since both grandfathers were named Antoine, that name at least was preordained. We know little about the life of Philibert Favre. He was still a merchant when his wife died in Neuilly in 1873. We next meet him in Paris in 1885, sharing a flat with his son at 19 (or 17) rue Perdonnet for reasons unknown. It was not a very satisfactory arrangement. We know that Claude Antoine often took refuge with Gauguin, who told Mette: 'for him, it's a convenient place to get over his worries at home where he's always arguing with his father'[1]. Following in his father's footsteps, Claude Antoine went into textiles and became the sales representative of the Roubaix canvas and waterproof manufacturer Dillies, which Gauguin himself later represented in Scandinavia (see *43*, inset). The nature of Philibert's business remains a mystery, but it seems possible that he too had some connection with Dillies since he was living in Roubaix, at 58 rue des Arts in March 1888 (when his son married) and still in 'clerical' employment at seventy-four years of age. He died in Roubaix at eighty-three years of age on 23 February 1897, 'in the residence of François Jonckheere' on rue Lacroix. His death was notified by his neighbours, a carpenter and a trainee butcher.
The portrait was painted in the last quarter of 1885, during the close neighbourhood of Gauguin and Favre; of the surviving documents about the life of Philibert Favre, it is undoubtedly the most eloquent. Gauguin's acquaintance with Philibert may date from as early as the 1870s. The small format of the work perhaps suggests that it was not the product of a commission. Probably Favre was simply obliging Gauguin who wanted to paint portraits; as he told Mette in December (**D**) 'it's winter and I can't paint without a model'. Long afterwards, an 1875 landscape was found to be nailed to the stretcher beneath Favre's portrait: *Port (30)*.

[1] Gauguin to Mette, 2 November 1885 (Merlhès 88).

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Gauguin to Mette, c. 20 December 1885 (Merlhès 91), reporting a visit from his sister Marie Uribe: 'I had just finished a portrait of a man, which she of course found quite horribly Impressionist' but this might equally refer to the *Portrait of Achille Granchi-Taylor (205)*.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 137 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Moustaches, Paris, Marcel Rochas, 1949-1950, no. 32.
Cent portraits d'hommes du XIX^e siècle à nos jours, Paris, Charpentier, 1952, no. 33.
Tokyo, Kyoto and Fukuoka, 1969, no. 11.

Provenance:
Claude Antoine Charles Favre, Paris (we do not know whether Philibert Favre was sufficiently interested in his portrait to own it).
Le Tessier Du Plessis, Paris (by inheritance), c. 1941.
Private collection, France.

207

207
The Boss's Daughter

Canvas. 0.555 × 0.460
Signed and dated centre left:
p Gauguin / 86
W186

We know of no evidence justifying the title traditionally borne by this work, which probably dates back at least to the period when it was in Vollard's hands; and since the work has been relined, there is no information to be had from the back of the painting. Yet it seems we must take account of this unexpectedly specific title. For Gauguin did indeed have a boss in late 1885 and early 1886. 'I've been promised a post as publicity inspector with 200f a month, but I haven't got it yet', he told Mette around 20 December[1]. This was explained only in January: 'When the little one went down with smallpox, I had 20 centimes in my pocket and for the last 3 days we'd been living on credit, eating stale bread./ At my wits' end, I had the idea of offering my services to a station bill-posting company as a bill-poster – My bourgeois clothes made the manager laugh but I told him very seriously that my child was ill and I wanted to work. So I posted bills for 5f a day; during this time, Clovis was confined to his bed with fever and in the evenings I got back and looked after him – This work lasted three weeks and today the Managing Director took me on as inspector and administrative secretary for 200f a month. They apparently found me intelligent and in a year's time I think I'll have a better post. In fact, they're in negotiations with Spain to start a branch in Madrid where I shall be appointed manager with a low salary 300f a month plus accommodation and 20% on deals – Moreover, the company is rich and has been active for 30 years in what is a growing industry'[2].

The scorn Gauguin had vented on the advertising mentality in April 1884[3] now returned to haunt him: he found himself working in publicity from at least the second half of December 1885 till late February 1886. He was right to define it as a growth industry; the sector had long since begun its inexorable expansion (see *Wrestlers, 298*, inset on the modern world).

In archives originating with the Schuffenecker family, Malingue found an (unsigned) contract that reveals the name of the company[4]. The Société Anonyme de Publicité Diurne et Nocturne had indeed been active for thirty years, having been founded in 1857. This dynamic enterprise described itself in the commercial directory as 'exclusive agents for permanent publicity in railway stations'[5]; it also undertook bill-posting on Morris pillars and modern luminous kiosks. It operated in a total of 4000 stations covering the whole of France and parts of Switzerland and Germany, and had branches and subsidiaries in the provinces and in Zurich. It clearly aimed to become international, and it is not surprising that a Spanish branch was contemplated. We do not why Gauguin never took up the Madrid position, nor why the draft contract (dated 26 February) discovered by Malingue was never signed. Malingue, alas, did not record the name of the manager, which is a pity, since his surname is perhaps that of this portrait's subject. Investigation of Gauguin's superiors in the company may, on the other hand, be a false trail. This 'boss' may simply have been the manager of a bistrot or some other establishment.

It is also just possible that this painting represents Gabrielle Tessier, one of the people Gauguin was frequenting at this point (see the *tambourin, 147*). If it is, the painting may perhaps have been first owned by Claude Antoine Favre, Gabrielle's husband. He was acquainted with a number of artists (see his *Portrait, 43*, inset); these may have included Émile Bernard, into whose hands the painting seems to have quite quickly fallen (**P**). However, Gabrielle's family has no memory of such a portrait, so this identification, too, remains entirely hypothetical. The model's redoubtably sceptical expression and the red neckscarf, with its possible implications of quick temper, are, it must be said, quite compatible with what we know of Gabrielle's character.

The background effect is of a kind by now familiar in Gauguin's work (on which, see *Apples, 144*). An X-ray of the painting is reproduced in the catalogue of the Saint-Germain-en-Laye exhibition of 1985.

[1] Gauguin to Mette, c. 20 December 1885 (Merlhès 91).
[2] Gauguin to Mette, January 1886 (Merlhès 94).
[3] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, April 1884 (Merlhès 45).
[4] M. Malingue: *Lettres de Gauguin à sa femme et à ses amis*, Paris, 1946, p. 77, note 1.
[5] Commercial directories.

Documents and bibliography:

Vollard Archives, 1904 inventory: '4122. [Provenance:] Mme Bernard. Woman's head. C[anvas]. 55 × 46. 150 F'.
Vollard Archives: Inventory of 1 January 1922: 'no. 424. Bust of a woman. Oil 55 × 46 [estimated value FF] 1500'.
Proceedings of the A. Vollard inheritance, 11 September-2 November 1939: 'in an alcove beside the dining room' […paragraph] 196 […] no. 424'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 186 (repr.).

Exhibitions:

(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 60 (*Portrait*).
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 29.
Gauguin and the Pont-Aven Group, London, Tate Gallery, 1966, no. 1.
Gauguin et le groupe de Pont-Aven, Zurich, Kunsthaus, 1966, no. 3.
Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée départemental du Prieuré, 1985, no. 41.
Gauguin et les peintres de la Bretagne, Japan, 1992, no. 18.
Gauguin, les XX et La Libre Esthétique, Liège, Salle Saint-Georges, 1994-1995, no. 7.
Gauguin y la escuela de Pont-Aven, Mexico, Museo del Palacio de Bellas Artes, 1995-1996, no. 7.

Provenance:

Bought by Vollard from Mme Bernard: the painting appears in the 1904 inventory but not in that of 1899 and may therefore have been acquired between those dates. The Mme Bernard in question is almost certainly the one who sold Vollard a number of works by Gauguin (paintings, ceramics and drawings) and by Van Gogh between 1894 and 1900 (Vollard Archives, cash register 1894-1900). For one of these transactions, the register specifies her address as Colombes. Vollard's address book gives her address toward the turn of the century as 16 villa de Bellenot, Colombes. This must be a relation of Émile Bernard's, perhaps his mother, though we know of no Colombes address for her. Who but Bernard could have had in his possession as early as 1894 both paintings by Van Gogh and ceramics by Gauguin? Bernard quarrelled with Gauguin in 1890, and, when he left for Egypt, may have left with his mother the works that he had acquired during his friendship with Gauguin (1888-1890) with permission to sell them if the need arose.
The work still belonged to Vollard in 1939 (**D**) and subsequently passed to one of his heirs.
Sale [A. Rosenberg], New York, Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, 11 May 1977, no. 21a (bought in).
Sale, New York, Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, 21 May 1981, no. 507 (to Samuel Josefowitz, Lausanne, Switzerland).
Bought in 1984 by:
Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée Départemental Maurice Denis 'Le Prieuré' – PMD 984.16.1.

208
Clovis

Canvas. 0.565 × 0.405
Signed centre right: *P G*
W187

Leaving Copenhagen, his wife, and all but one of his children behind him, Gauguin returned to France in mid-June 1885 with Clovis, his favourite son. The childish long hair we see in *Clovis Asleep (151)* had now been cut; we see it short in *Interior (164)*. Pola Gauguin tells us that 'it was he [Gauguin] who wanted to take his son with him'[1]. Gauguin obviously wanted to salvage some vestige of family life, but it soon became clear that his lifestyle was incompatible with this responsibility. Lacking both money and a roof over his head, he first entrusted Clovis to his sister Marie Uribe, who took him to live in the country over the summer. But she had no intention of taking him in permanently and sent him back in early October. A new solution was required: 'I've so much to get around to, finding work, money, a flat and moving Clovis in, at the moment he's spending a week with Monsieur Jobbé-Duval'[2], he told Mette around 10 October. 'He came back from the country looking radiant; strangely enough, the French air has improved his looks; his face is becoming ever more slender, his eyes shine and his cheeks glow'[3].

Winter penury ■ Some days later, Gauguin rented the little flat which may have been the setting for this portrait. It was a small two-room apartment with hall, toilet and closet on the second floor of 10 rue Cail, with views over street and court, though mostly over the court. The apartment block had gone up in 1879 when this street was driven through faubourg Saint-Denis in best Haussmannian tradition. Favre, a very close friend (see *43*) lived just around the corner. Gauguin paid FF 520 rent to the Société des Nouveaux Quartiers de Paris for this accommodation; he told Mette 'Clovis will go to school just beside the house and when I'm not there the concierge who is a very kind woman will look after him'[4].

Clovis must have had a rough time. 'He's very sweet and plays all alone in his little corner without tormenting me', Gauguin naively reported on 2 November. 'He sometimes asks where mother is and when she'll be coming'[5]. Father and son had 'no furniture' and nothing but 'the four walls to cheer us up'; 'at night, we freeze'[6]. The cold had set in for the winter but the bedding repeatedly requested from Mette arrived only at Christmas[7].
By that time, Clovis was already ill, and did not rise from his bed of sickness till after the new year. 'The only trouble is, I have to be out and then he's alone in the house', Gauguin lamented[8]. Was it merely flu, as he at first told Mette, or was it smallpox? In his next letter, Gauguin wrote, 'when the little one went down with smallpox, I had 20 centimes in my pocket and for the last 3 days we'd been living on credit, eating stale bread'[9]. Under these conditions, Clovis lost his healthy complexion of the autumn. Toward the end of the winter, Gauguin reported '[we have] four walls a bed a table no fire and no-one [to help]. Clovis is heroic; in the evening when we sit down to a piece of bread and sausage he doesn't think about the appetite he used to have he doesn't say a word, doesn't even ask to play and goes off to bed. That's how things are for him every day; in heart and mind, he's an adult now. He's visibly growing but he's not well, always has headaches and this constant paleness, which worries me'[10].
In January, Gauguin boasted 'I fully expect to take more children back as soon as things are going better – you know I have a right to'[11]. But by spring it was obvious that this was no life for a child, and he sent Clovis to a boarding school.

Inevitable separation ■ They hardly saw each other again between the spring of 1886 and that of the following year. Gauguin could not pay the boarding school, and dared not show his face there. Instead, Schuffenecker was deputed to visit Clovis at the Lennuier school in Antony, a southern suburb of Paris[12]. 'The other day I had news of Clovis', he wrote in September, 'it seems he is increasingly the apple of their

Clovis and Jean, Copenhagen, probably 1885.
Photo: Grundtvig (former Malingue Archives).

eye, and is as strong as a horse. I miss him and if I'd had the money I'd have brought him here. Poor kid, he hasn't had any holidays […] Evenings in Pont-Aven are a bit long when you've downed tools and you're on your own'[13].
Gauguin eventually decided to leave France: 'Will you take care of getting Clovis home?' he asked Mette in March 1887[14]. 'You'll have Clovis back; he mustn't bear the brunt of your and your family's lack of affection for him; he sees into people's hearts; he won't say anything, but he'll suffer. Show affection and you can do anything with him otherwise you'll just put him off and turn him nasty. Speak ill of his father and he'll suffer agonies. So this is a delicate responsibility I'm entrusting you with. I can't go and see him as I haven't paid his board recently, but now my heart and guts are steeled against any suffering that comes my way'[15]. Steeled he may have been, but this failure left a lasting wound.

When? ■ We know almost nothing about the date of this portrait. Gauguin had plenty of opportunity to paint Clovis during the winter that they spent together in rue Cail, whereas, once Clovis was a boarder, they seem to have spent only a few more days together, at Christmas 1886, in Gauguin's

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insalubrious studio on rue Lecourbe[16]. But, as we shall see, the work may perhaps date from then, so 'advanced' is it in manner and spirit compared with Gauguin's known works of early 1886.
Had Gauguin been contemplating a portrait of his son for some time? His sketchbook for the years 1884-1886[17] contains life-sketches of Clovis that may have been made in Denmark in 1885. One of them (page 86) shows a fairly classical squared-up profile portrait, repeated in summary fashion on page 95. This might be the first notion of a portrait, perhaps dating from 1885; Gauguin seems not to have followed it up. The sketch on page 87, fuller and more original, is a little closer to the present portrait. It shows Clovis from a slightly different angle, his physiognomy all bumps and hollows, there too in three-quarter profile, but facing the other way.

Clovis, sketch. Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 87, detail. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

Premonitory work ■ Gauguin's much-loved son is represented in a most surprising way, quite remote from the good-mannered *Portrait of Achille Granchi-Taylor (205)* or the psychological realism of *The Boss's Daughter (207)*. Monumental and almost hieratic, the image is not concerned with superficial likeness; comparison with the photo reproduced here makes clear the deliberate exaggeration in the distance between the eyes, the breadth of the nostrils and the roundness of the lips. While the bizarre stroke of paint on the right eyelid seems almost to turn Clovis into a seer, the enlightened self-awareness that Gauguin bestows on him is perhaps an indication of the depth of his esteem.
Perhaps, too, we should read the stillness and mysterious rounding out of this face as prefiguring the ideal 'portrait' of his mother that Gauguin painted several years later (*W385*). It is as if the perfection implicit in these relationships required an almost mythical dimension. Here Gauguin is as though drawn to the archetypal, and this combines with the aggrandisement of Clovis' personality to foreshadow Symbolist portraiture (see the self-portrait *Les Misérables, 309*, inset).
In more formal aspects, too, this portrait was a considerable step forward: in the relative simplification of form and volume; the unexpected rhythm of hands and pages; the compressed and far from perspicuous vertical space; the extraordinary inversion of perspective in the book; and the deliberate imbalance favouring the lower part of the painting, to which the eye is drawn by the cross-motif on the right, whose necessity is otherwise unexplained. This kind of oddity in the articulation of space had already occurred in the 1884 portrait of *Mette (154)*; there too it is present in the lower part of the canvas, as though this were the proper place to introduce disruptive forces. Above all, the distortion of space and the weighty forms are a premonition of the primitivism sought in *Wrestlers (298)*. Gauguin was not alone in his quest for the primitive; see inset below.

Leaf and fruit ■ Despite its strange and almost emblematic appearance, the 'floral' composition in the background was painted from life. It represents a decorative object belonging to Gauguin, a carved and painted wooden corbeil from a 17th or 18th century newel, which long remained in the family, and is now in the collection of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
For several years the place of the corbel was atop the T-shaped bookcase that Gauguin had built and decorated (Gray 5). But the bookcase was some two metres in height, and there is no sign of it here. The carving is about 35 centimetres tall and seems quite close to Clovis, unless Gauguin has deliberately exaggerated its size.

Timelessness ■ At all events, the corbeil has something of popular art about it, and its naivety is enhanced by the simplified rendition. What does its presence here imply? 'Even the fruit-like flowers and the half-cross [...] seem pregnant with sense, but their meaning is imprecise', Macquillan accurately observes[18]. Others among Gauguin's models are similarly flanked by objects endowed with a life of their own (on the representation of works of art, see *Peonies, 145*, inset). The presence of this object accentuates the primitivising and pre-Symbolist character of the portrait.
To what extent was this very forward-looking work the product of conscious intention? Some form of aesthetic thinking undoubtedly lay behind these deliberate experiments. From spring 1886, Gauguin had sought to share with his entourage certain theoretical observations, and these, though far from explicit, perhaps concerned an orientalising and thus 'primitive' form of art; see the inset on 'Gauguin's paper'. Whether his thinking at this stage already concerned primitive life or the corruption of modern urban existence, we do not know; at very most, we may surmise that, when he painted this portrait (especially if it dates from late 1886), he was already toying with the idea of leaving Paris for warmer climes. On the other hand, Gauguin's thinking can hardly have crystallised at this point, since, if we except his trip to Martinique, the spirit that governs this portrait did not again find expression till *Wrestlers (298)* of July 1888.
The otherworldly references informing the light and the overall mysteriousness of this portrait certainly suggest how naturally the Symbolist manner came to Gauguin. In this premonitory work, born of suffering and intense affection, Gauguin's inspiration is no longer simply that of the rationalist West.

Corbeil, carved and painted wood, former Gauguin collection. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

Sculpted bookcase (Gray 5). Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

The handrail of the Hôtel Richelieu-Bassompierre, Paris: an example of the use of such corbeils. Photo: R. Liot.

'Gauguin's Paper'

Around the time of the 8th Impressionist Exhibition, Gauguin was dwelling on art theory, and handed his colleagues a text they dubbed 'Gauguin's paper'. This was a collection of precepts about representation attributed to the painter 'Mani Vehni Zunbul Zadi' (in whom Cachin-Signac recognises the Turkish poet, Vehbi Mohammed Zunbul Zade)[1].
The jibes in this text about young persons seeking to exercise their talents in the studio, combined with pronouncements of rather conventional kind – notably the 'arty' reference to 'a note of prettiness that nauseates the true connoisseur' – smack rather of the art student than the oriental poet. So a question arises as to the true author of these words, which probably owe much to Gauguin himself. What we cannot doubt is the profound affinity between the maxims of this 'paper' and Gauguin's own thinking. He frequently copied them out, and they make a final appearance in *Avant et après* less than a year before his death.
The paper records an endearingly natural and rather meditative approach to painting. Certain aesthetic principles also emerge. Elements of Impressionism – colour-faceted light and spontaneity of execution – survive, but the work aspires to a different world, a world transfixed: 'Each of your figures must be static'. Figures should be clear and legible, with 'clean outlines [...] unmarred by hesitation'. It would be an uncompromisingly truthful art: 'Why deliberately embellish [...] uniform prettiness abolishes all distinction'. It would depict intuitively, conveying a first impression, and avoiding 'the quest for infinite detail, retrospectively supplied'. With hindsight, we perceive that these principles all led toward the intuitive and primitivist figuration of Synthetism (see *The Vision, 308*, inset on Synthetism).
The paper includes some remarks on colour, a subject dear to Gauguin's heart, as witness the several pages that he more or less concurrently devoted to the same topic in one of his sketchbooks[2]. They run quite counter to the divisionist law of complementarity; on the contrary, the painter should seek 'harmony not opposition, chords rather than dissonance'. This idea opened the way to Gauguin's Martinique experiments, and later still, to the 'harmonic' system he practised in Arles (see *Blue Trees, 319*, inset). Struck by these 'truths about the gradations of harmony', Gustave Kahn later described the 'paper' as 'an oriental text on the colouring of carpets'[3]. It is quite possible that Gauguin did, at this period, admire such carpets and mention the fact to Kahn and others (see *Blue Trees*, inset on carpets).
Gauguin chose to father this text on a Turkish sage. Was this intended to evoke the shimmering colours of the Orient? Or is it an early reference to those 'primitive' civilisations whose unfamiliar vision of the world was proving increasingly attractive? (See inset 'The Quest for the Primitive'.) At all events, if there is any equivalence between 'Gauguin's paper' and the experimental works of this period, it is surely in *Clovis* that we should seek it (the paper is also cited in relation to *Still Life with Horse's Head, 216*).

[1] G. Cachin-Signac: 'Un poète turc a-t-il inspiré les néo-impressionnistes?', *Les Lettres françaises*, 7 January 1954, p. 9.
[2] Gauguin's sketchbook 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald), 1962, pp. 8-11.
[3] G. Kahn: 'Au temps du pointillisme', *Mercure de France*, 1 April 1924, pp. 16-17.

Toward a Primitive Style

Cézanne was one of the first champions of 'inelegance' and distortions (see *The Vision, 308*, inset on Cézanne). Shortly before Gauguin, he too had painted a portrait of *his* son (Venturi 535) which is no less astonishing than Gauguin's in its hieratic simplification and verticality. Seurat followed in his footsteps, with the abrupt, 'naively' schematic outlines of the figures in his *Bathers, Asnières*. In the early 1880s, something was driving artists to put analytic figuration – Impressionist, Naturalist or academic – behind them.
With hindsight, we recognise that the search for new forms coincided with both a social malaise and an increasing acquaintance with the art of other lands and periods. But our only explicit record of Gauguin's own thoughts on these subjects – prior to his departure for the islands in spring 1887 – is the orientalising 'paper' (see inset) that he showed to his friends in 1886. At all events, amid these first faint breaths of primitivism, the 20th century was heaving into sight.
See also *Wrestlers (298)* of 1888, insets on 'Savagery' and 'The Modern World'; *The Vision (308)*, insets on 'Positivism and the Ideal' and 'Other civilisations', and the introduction to the Martinique period.

P. Cézanne: *Portrait of Paul Cézanne, the Artist's Son* (Venturi 535). Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie (collection Jean Walter and Paul Guillaume).

Clovis

Clovis at twelve, the last known portrait of him (detail of a group photograph). Photo: former Malingue Archives.

Clovis' existence left few traces. The two or three photos suggest a personality of endearing honesty. Mentions in the family correspondence are few and far between. According to Malingue, Clovis had left school at twelve[1]. In any case, when he was sixteen, Mette reported 'Clovis works in his factory, comes back home in the evening like a true blacksmith, washes, devours his food and is perfectly happy; the little wretch detested school and study[2].

In 1897, shortly after his sister's death, Clovis' hip was injured in an accident at work. An operation attempted three years later resulted in septicaemia, and he died on 16 May 1900[3]. Mette wrote: 'Clovis died at 21, and I don't have a portrait of him as a young man. He was so modest, he scarcely gave a thought to himself. They [Aline and Clovis, both now dead] were Paul's two favourite children'[4]. Since neither Mette nor Schuffenecker any longer wrote to him, Gauguin was spared the news of his son's death.

[1] M. Malingue: 'Encore du nouveau sur Gauguin', *L'Oeil*, October 1959, p. 32.
[2] Mette Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 6 May 1895 (in M. Malingue: *Lettres de Gauguin à sa femme et à ses amis*, Paris, 1946, p. 326).
[3] Mette Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 11 June 1900 (in Malingue, 1946, p. 328).
[4] Mette Gauguin to De Monfreid, 19 January 1903 (J. Loize: *Les amitiés du peintre Georges-Daniel de Monfreid*, Paris, 1951, no. 462).

[1] Pola Gauguin: *Paul Gauguin, mon père*, Paris, 1938, p. 85.
[2] On Jobbé-Duval, see *69*, inset.
[3] Gauguin to Mette, c. 10 October 1885 (Merlhès 86).
[4] Gauguin to Mette, 13 October 1885 (Merlhès 87).
[5] Gauguin to Mette, 2 November 1885 (Merlhès 88).
[6] Gauguin to Mette, mid-November 1885 (Merlhès 89).
[7] Gauguin to Mette, c. 20 December 1885 (Merlhès 91) and 29 December 1885 (Merlhès 92).
[8] Gauguin to Mette, 29 December 1885 (Merlhès 92).
[9] Gauguin to Mette, January 1886, (Merlhès 94).
[10] Gauguin to Mette, 27 February 1886 (Merlhès 95).
[11] Gauguin to Mette, January 1886 (Merlhès 94).
[12] Gauguin to Mette, 24 May 1886 (Merlhès 97); late July 1886 (Merlhès 110); February 1887 (Merlhès 120); late March 1887 (Merlhès 122).
[13] Gauguin to Mette, c. mid-September 1886 (Merlhès 112).
[14] Gauguin to Mette, March 1887 (Merlhès 121).
[15] Gauguin to Mette, late March 1887 (Merlhès 122).
[16] Gauguin to Mette, 26 December 1886 (Merlhès 115).
[17] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald, 1962), pp. 86-87.
[18] M. MacQuillan: *Les Portraits impressionnistes*, Paris, 1986, p. 190 (repr.).

Documents and bibliography:
Vollard Archives: inventory of 1 January 1922: 'no. 4287. Reader. 57 × 41 [valued at FF] 2000'. Proceedings of the Vollard inheritance, 11 September- 2 November 1939: in his town house, 28 rue Martignac, 'in an alcove beside the dining room' [… paragraph] 129 […] Gauguin […] no. 4287'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 187 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Chicago (Illinois), The Art Institute of Chicago, and New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1959, no. 6.
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 21.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 32.
Vienna, Belvedere, 1960, no. 7.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Cincinnati Art Museum, 1971, no. 10.

Provenance:
Vollard.
Comte de Galea, Paris.
Morton D. May, Jr., St. Louis (Missouri).
Mr and Mrs Lloyd Bruce Westcott, Clinton (New Jersey), c. 1959.
In 1960, given by Mrs Bruce Westcott to:
Newark (New Jersey), The Newark Museum, Gift of Mrs L.B. Westcott – 60.570.

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209
Calf and Cow, Riverbank

Canvas. 0.46 × 0.55
Signed and dated lower left:
P. Gauguin 86 [or *85*]
W154

This picture is known to us only through a black and white photo on which the last figure of the date is uncertain, but seems to be a *6*; this is also the view taken in the Blot sale catalogue.
Since the brushwork is that of a studio work, the exact dating makes little difference. It must be a slightly smaller repeat of the Dieppe landscape *196* of summer 1885, though there are a few disparities. *Watering Place II (203)* is the same size, is also a repeat, and forms something of a pair with this painting (see entry for *203*).
Both repeats may have been painted in Paris during the winter of 1885-1886. But the rendition of brushwood is – in places – similar to the treatment found in certain pictures of summer 1886 (see *Field, 226*), and so this work could also be allocated to late 1886.
The 'cropping' of the cow's head, repeated in *Upstream of Pont-Aven (232)*, is an effect to which Gauguin returned in 1888; see *Cottages (266)* and *Late Winter (273)*.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 154 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Ausländische Kunst in Zürich, Zurich, Kunsthaus, 1943, no. 563.
(?) *Werke der französischen Malerei und Grafik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Essen, Villa Hügel, 1954 (*Landscape with cows*, 0.465 × 0.56 cm. signed lower left: *P. Gauguin 86*, German private collection).

Provenance:
Eugène Blot Sale, Paris, Drouot, 9-10 May 1900, no. 49 (to Viau).
Private collection, Zurich, c. 1943.
(?) Private collection, Germany, c. 1954 (see E above).
Current whereabouts unknown.

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210
Suburb under Snow

Canvas. 0.775 × 0.560
Signed and dated lower right:
P Gauguin 86
W188

No record has survived of Gauguin's travelling outside Paris during the winter of 1886 and we have therefore been unable to localise this landscape. It may have been painted early in 1886 since Gauguin spent most of December 1886 in hospital.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 188 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 48 (*Winter landscape*).
Copenhagen, Kleis, 1917, no. 19 (*Winter Day*, Konrad Levysohn collection).
Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 44.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, ex-catalogue.

Provenance:
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen.
Ceded by her to her friend, the lawyer Konrad Levysohn, Copenhagen, at a date before 1917.

Under this painting, nailed to the same stretcher, Levysohn discovered another painting, *Sweet Dreams (75)*, which he returned to Mette.
Mrs Konrad Levysohn, Copenhagen, c. 1926.
Miss Levysohn, Copenhagen, c. 1948.
Max Weitzenhoffer, Oklahoma, c. 1964.
Mrs Aaron M. Weitzenhoffer, U.S.A.

211
Fire by the Water

Canvas. 0.595 × 0.380
Signed and dated lower left:
P Gauguin 86
W193

We do not know where Gauguin painted this view. It shows a river or estuary whose navigability is clear from the appearance on the right of a two or three-masted ship. It seems it is not, as a 1931 localisation proposed, a view from the Le Pouldu region[1], nor is it a view of the River Aven downstream of Pont-Aven[2]. Gauguin made an excursion to the Bordeaux region in 1886, but that location also seems to be ruled out since he almost certainly stayed there too short a time to paint anything more than a study, and the one study that he did paint there, *Bordeaux Harbour (213)*, displays a very different technique.
Yet the painting represents a scene witnessed by Gauguin that he recorded in the form of a series of sketches representing uniformed figures, silhouettes in front of a fire, and a mast on a background of foliage. These appear in his 1884-1886 sketchbook[3]; some of the sketches (pp. 62-64) have been put directly to use in this painting.

Sketch from Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 63. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

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Presumably a military detachment was stationed close by, since the uniforms seem to be those of infantry soldiers. Unfortunately, the date of these sketches is also unknown. There are some possible connections. For example, the picture may derive from the same mysterious autumnal stay in the country as *By the Stream (204)*, which is somewhat similar in style. If so, since that work is dated 1885, one of the two must be incorrectly dated. Which one? There are no pointers in the style of the two paintings, which is spontaneous and even hasty, but otherwise unexceptional.
Or was this painting executed in the same locality as *Schooner and Three-Master (212)*? This is no less difficult to localise, though Le Pouldu and Pont-Aven are ruled out. It is not dated and seems to belong somewhere around the years 1883-1888. The Rouen area is a likely candidate for this pairing, given the size of the ships in *212* and the presence of soldiers (like those in *Rue Jouvenet, 115* or *Blue Roofs, 116* of 1884) in this painting.

[1] As Monsieur Pierre Le Thoër informs us.
[2] As Monsieur Quéinec informs us.
[3] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald, 1962), pp. 59-67.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 193 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 22.

Provenance:
Direktor Müller, Zurich, c. 1931.
The Estate of Walter Müller sale, London, Sotheby's, 22 June 1993, no. 36 (to Baroness Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza).
Baroness Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, 1993.

212
Schooner and Three-Master

Canvas. 0.735 × 0.595
Signed lower left: *P Gauguin*
W168

We have been unable to identify the landscape portrayed here with any certainty. The technique of the work suggests a date between 1880 and 1888. The scene matches neither the port of Pont-Aven (where there were no buildings on the far bank) nor that of Le Pouldu, where the vegetation is somewhat sparser, and which could not accommodate ships of this size[1]. The logs in the foreground are suggestive of the timber industry and the Rouen region would be a rather plausible candidate for the location, in which case the painting might well be from 1884. One wonders, too, if it was painted in the same area as *Fire (211)*, whose location is equally uncertain.
In the collection of the Département des Arts graphiques of the Louvre (fonds du Musée d'Orsay), there is a sketch of boats at the quayside which might well have been made in the same place (RF 29877-34).

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[1] As Messrs. Bertrand Quéinec and Pierre Le Thoër inform us.

Documents and bibliography:
(?) P. Fechter: 'P. Gauguin. Zur Ausstellung in der Galerie Arnold', *Dresdner Neuesten Nachrichten*, 23 September 1910: 'The *Port* clearly shows the influence of Manet and the impressionists [German original]'.
(?) P. F.[Fechter]: 'Ausstellungen. Dresden', *Kunst und Künstler*, 1 October 1910, p. 107 (in P. Kropmanns: *Gauguin und die Schule von Pont-Aven…*, Sigmaringen, 1997, pp. 46 and 93, note 146): [at the Arnold gallery exhibition] 'His early productions under the influence of Impressionism are represented by *Port* [German original]'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 168 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) Dresden, Arnold gallery, September-October 1910, no. 1: *Port* (almost all the works for this exhibition were loaned by Vollard).

Provenance:
Vollard.
Druet, Paris.
Sale [Henri Le Roux], Paris, Galliera, 20 June 1968, no. 254.
Moshe and Sara Mayer, Geneva.

213
Bordeaux Harbour

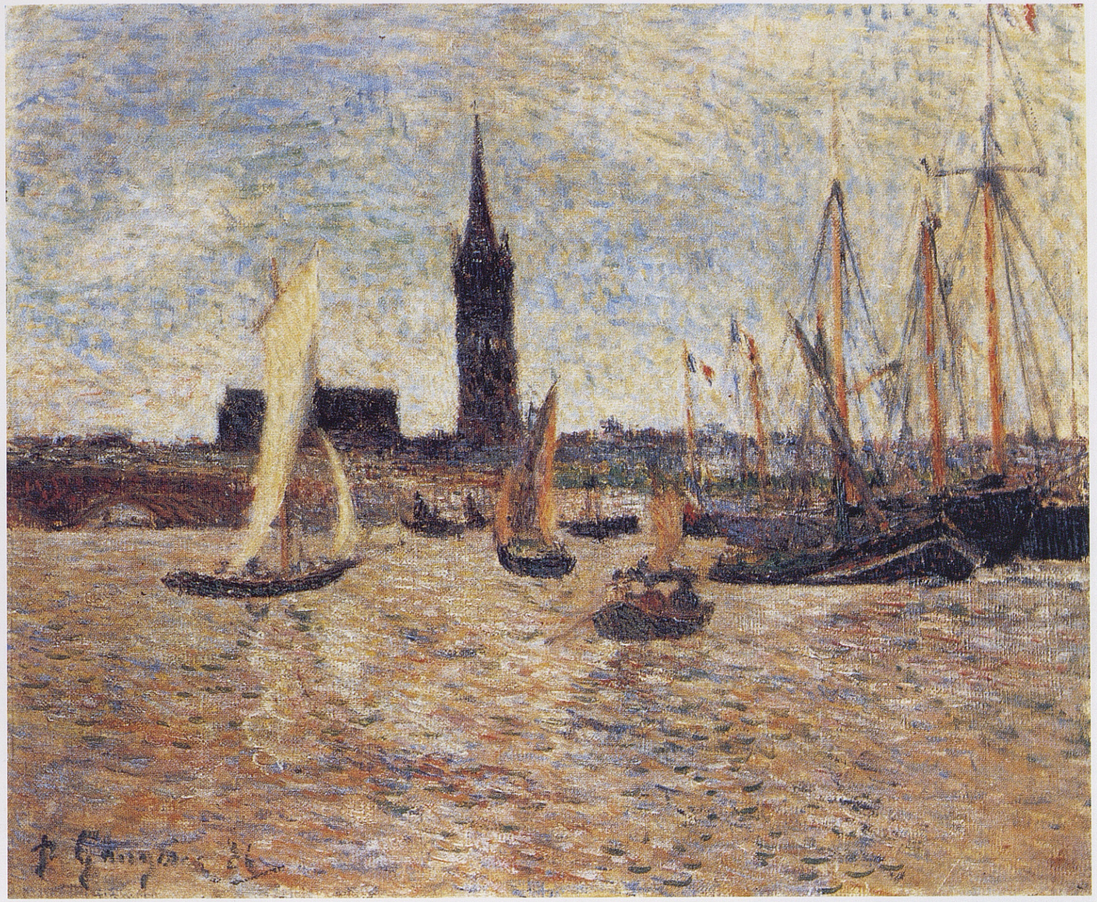
Canvas. 0.380 × 0.465
Signed and dated lower left:
P Gauguin 86

The site today. Photo: D. Dussol.

The Bordeaux roadstead is seen here looking south from the right bank, near the gare d'Orléans; it seems possible that Gauguin set up his easel on a small boat, something that he had recommended to Pissarro a few years before[1]. To the left we recognise the pont de Pierre with its cladding of red-brown brick, and the church of Saint-Michel, the spire standing slightly apart from the nave that had recently been built by the architect Abadie. At the waterside on the right, we can make out the trees of the promenade. During the 19th century, various open-air markets were held there; it has since become the quai Richelieu and the quai de la Douane.
We puzzled long and hard over the identity of this port. Despite the inscription on the stretcher, it was clearly not Antwerp, nor any of the ports of the Channel or Brittany. Many different navigators were consulted before Monsieur François Renault recognised Bordeaux in this estuary port with its bridge and its range of sea and river-going vessels (behind the lighter shown on the right, used only for local coastal trade or sand-dredging, there is a ketch, a much larger boat).

A further spanish mission ■ Since there is no record of Gauguin having visited Bordeaux, this conclusion was quite unexpected. But a possible explanation came to mind in the form of Gauguin's hasty visits to the south of France during 1883 and 1884 when he was acting for exiled Spanish revolutionaries (see *Mulatress, 158*).
Many of the officers who had joined the Spanish insurrection of 1883 afterwards took refuge in Bordeaux. There was an entire Spanish quarter in late 19th century Bordeaux, with its own lively community, located around today's cours de la Victoire, cours de la Marne, and cours de l'Argonne. Not all Spanish immigrants were politicised, but the French police kept suspect milieux under close surveillance, as Ribemont (**D**) has shown. Police reports record the presence of a former Spanish Deputy, Don Carlos Amusco, who corresponded with the republican leader Zorilla. Zorilla himself visited Bordeaux in October 1884 and November 1885; a further visit, on 20 January 1886, marked a resurgence of revolutionary hope, as the Carlist army entered negotiations with the Bordeaux anarchists.
In 1886, the revolutionary committee was based in route de Toulouse (today's cours de la Somme) in the centre of the Spanish quarter. We have no proof that Gauguin went there, but an address noted in his sketchbook[2] suggests that his visit took him very close to this revolutionary epicentre. The address is 'Marie Lechaux – 164 rue St Catherine Bordo'. Since rue Sainte-Catherine is a continuation of route de Toulouse, we find 164 not five hundred yards from the northern end of the latter. There, in an old house on the corner of rue Gouvea, lived Marie Lechaux; Ribemont tells us that this was the pharmacist Victor Marie Lechaux, the inventor of an anti-syphilitic syrup. There is no mention of Lechaux or his two daughters in the police reports so we have no proof of his connection with the Spanish republicans. We simply note that, in 1886, he had a Spanish servant, one Angel Perdilla, and that, in the advertisements for his products, Victor Marie was hispanicised as Victor Mario. Was he an intermediary between Gauguin and the revolutionaries? Or did he simply put Gauguin up? We do not know.
At all events, to reach Lechaux's house, Gauguin had only to cross the Pont de Pierre (shown in the painting) and continue straight on for some five hundred yards. The motif of this painting, half-way between the gare d'Orléans and the gare du Midi, presented itself naturally to the passing traveller.
Nor do we know whether Gauguin took this occasion to visit the grave of his grandmother in the Chartreuse cemetery. But his acceptance of a high-risk mission for a political cause was entirely consonant with the example she had set; forty-two years earlier, Flora Tristan had died of fever and exhaustion in this very city, having, in a sense, sacrificed her life to the cause of the working class.

Tides ■ When exactly did this trip take place? During the winter Gauguin was too busy working for an advertising agency (see *The Boss's Daughter, 207*); he also had Clovis to look after, at least until March or May, when the latter began boarding (see *Clovis, 208*). The warm light and plants already in leaf suggest that this work postdates the first few months of the year, while Gauguin's departure for Pont-Aven during the second half of July cut him off from the revolutionary milieu and forms a *terminus ante quem.*
Moreover, only during spates or the fortnightly high tides did the waters rise above the piers of the Pont de Pierre as they are seen to do here. This level is unlikely to have been reached during May or June. A combination of high waters and relatively clement weather seems to have occurred in Bordeaux at least twice during the spring of 1886. The first was on Saturday the 20th and Monday the 22nd of March, when a very high tide coincided with skies described in the weather report respectively as 'cloudy' and 'relatively cloud-free'; on the second occasion, on 17 and 20 April, the high tides were slightly lower, and there were clear patches in the more overcast skies[3].



213

Though similar in subject and composition to Gauguin's Dieppe port-painting of the previous summer (*180*), the rather more Neo-Impressionist style and use of colour in this work would suit a date in the first half of 1886 (see *Still Life with Horse's Head, 216*).

[1] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, 11 October 1883 (Merlhès 41).
[2] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald, 1962), p. 16.
[3] We should like to thank the Service maritime et de navigation de la Gironde for their kind assistance.

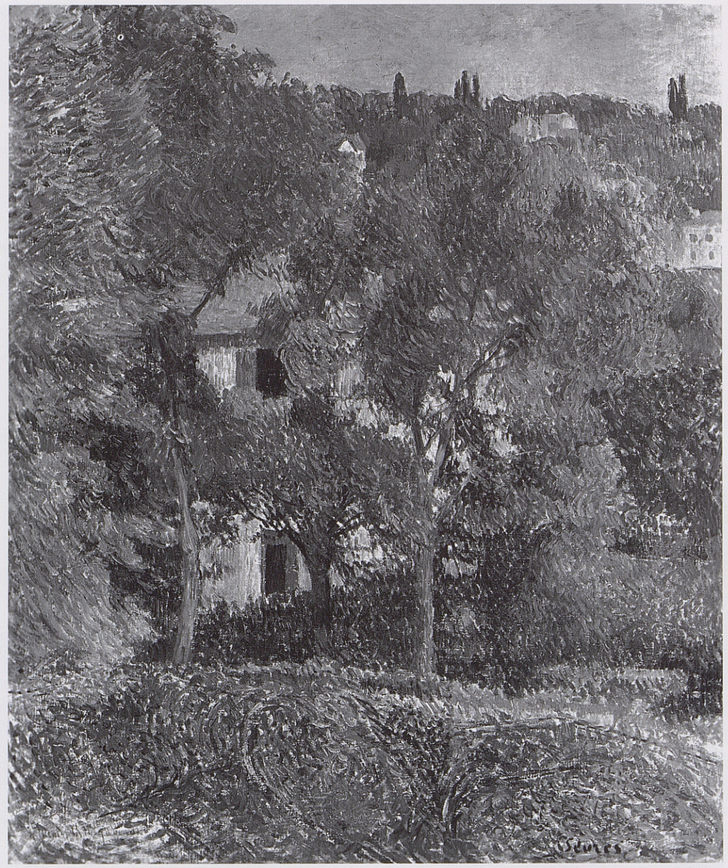
Documents and bibliography:
A. Rèche and F. Ribemont: *Le Port de Bordeaux vu par les peintres*, Bordeaux, 1994, pp. 90-91.

Exhibitions:
Paris, galerie Dru, 1923, no. 6 (*The Port of Anvers* – an identical inscription on the stretcher allows us to identify this painting with that title).

Provenance:
Bought from the Jos Brekpot gallery, Antwerp and Brussels, by Paul Rykens, London, around 1930. Clifford and John Rykens.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 29 November 1972, no. 6 (to Proctor Pearson).
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 4 December 1974, no. 101.

214
Sèvres

Canvas. 0.55 × 0.46
Dedicated lower left:
'a Mad. Bracquemond
[the second word is difficult to read];
Location lower right: *Sèvres*
W164


214

Meudon hill is visible in the background of this work, which was painted, looking south, from a point close to the Bracquemonds' house in Sèvres – a handsome little villa set in a sloping garden, which can still be seen in the lower part of rue Brancas (no. 13). Could it perhaps have been painted from the terrace of the villa, like the engraving by Félix Bracquemond reproduced on page 260?

The esteem of a master ■ Gauguin got to know the painter and engraver Félix Henri Bracquemond (1833-1914) in 1886. Bracquemond was a man of resolute independence, much esteemed in artistic circles for his rigorous and inventive work. A friend of Manet, Degas, Burty and many others, Bracquemond had been refused by the Salon and exhibited with the Impressionists between 1874 and 1880, though he was never part of this avant-garde movement. When he was admitted to the Salon in 1881, and awarded the Légion d'honneur in 1882, he stopped exhibiting with them but maintained cordial relations. Gauguin had thus exhibited alongside him in 1879 and 1880 but attracted Bracquemond's attention only in 1886. 'Our exhibition has placed the whole question of Impressionism again in the spotlight, this time in its favour', Gauguin wrote in June. 'I was a big success with the artists. Mr Braquemont* the engraver enthusiastically bought a picture for 250 f [see *Père Jean's Path, 195*] and put me in touch with a potter who wants to make art vases'[1]. This proved an invaluable contact (see inset).

13 rue de Brancas. Photo: O. Bertrand.

It was surely intensely gratifying to Gauguin to find himself 'befriended for [his] talent'[2] by so widely reputed an artist. And Bracquemond was very generous to his young friend, taking an interest in Gauguin's ceramics and helping him sell paintings and pots. He and Gauguin seem to have been especially close until late January 1887; they remained friends thereafter, and one of the first visits that Gauguin made on his return from Martinique was to Bracquemond, to whom he presented a fan (*W228*). As late as 1888, a note asking Theo Van Gogh to remember him to Monsieur and Madame Bracquemond proves the respect and gratitude he still felt[3].
Bracquemond possessed not only this work, the fan and *Père Jean's Path*, but a

A Most Beneficial Friendship

Bracquemond was not merely a painter and engraver. 'Rich in invention', 'alert to all the varieties of artistic production, particularly in the industrial arts', he had made 'original and successful efforts to renew the arts of wallpaper and tapestry, along with many other experiments which, though he gave them up, were by no means lost on others'[1]. Above all, he had long been interested in the decoration of ceramics, becoming head of the painting workshops at the Manufacture de Sèvres in 1871, then, from 1872 to 1880, art director of the Auteuil workshop founded by Charles Haviland.
Did he recognise himself in Gauguin's multifarious talents? (Gauguin had shown a wood carving, Gray 7, at the 1886 exhibition.) At all events, his next step proved a momentous one: 'Monsieur Bracquemond has put me in touch with a potter who wants to make art vases. He was thrilled with my sculpture and asked me to make whatever I like for him this winter; they'll be sold fifty-fifty. This may be a major resource for the future. Aubé used to do pots for him and made his living that way', Gauguin announced in June 1886[2].
The potter in question was the remarkable Ernest Chaplet (1835-1909). With the sculptor Jean-Paul Aubé, he had worked under Bracquemond in Haviland's studio. Gauguin, completing the circle, had made a pastel portrait of Aubé working on a pot (*W66* of 1882). Chaplet and Bracquemond had remained close, and in the autumn of 1885 were planning a further collaboration, though this fell through. It was therefore natural for Bracquemond to put Chaplet in contact with a young artist whose talents he admired.

F. Bracquemond: Plate of Japanese inspiration, c. 1872-1880. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Donation of George Haviland).

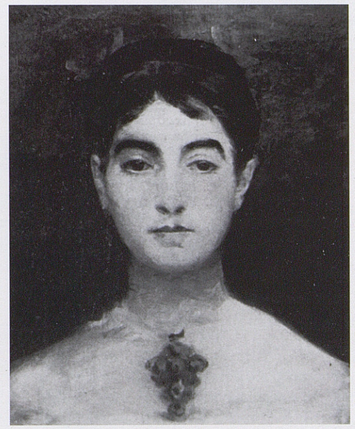
We know from a Gauguin letter that he had already met Chaplet by the early summer[3]. In Bracquemond, Gauguin met one of the first French artists inspired by Japanese art. Bracquemond had been a devotee of Hokusai's *Mangwa* (collections of thematic models) since the 1860s, and frequently showed his *Mangwa* volumes to his social circle. He was decorating porcelain dinner services with 'Japanese' compositions as early as 1867 and played an important role in the first wave of *Japonisme*, which was largely confined to the decorative arts[4]. Two years later, Gauguin borrowed the wrestlers in his *The Vision of the Sermon (308)* from the *Mangwa*. But his first expression of interest in things Japanese was *Still Life with Horse's Head (216)*.

[1] A. de Lostalot: 'M. Félix Bracquemond', *GBA*, August 1884, p. 161.
[2] Gauguin to Mette, first fortnight of June 1886 (Merlhès 99).
[3] Gauguin to Bracquemond, 24 June 1886 (Merlhès 100).
[4] See K. Berger: *Japonismus*, Munich, 1980, in German; English edition 1992; on Bracquemond, see pp. 13-14.

Rouen landscape; the last of these has not been identified, but it may have been much smaller, since Bracquemond paid Gauguin only FF 50 for it[4].
The correspondence shows that Gauguin often visited Sèvres. Here in the little house 'like a forest hermitage […] with its garden of shrubs and flowers, rock-gardens and ivy, the house at one end and the studio at the other', he may occasionally have met those who frequented the Bracquemonds, persons such as 'Burty, Alphonse Royer, E. Courbet, Ernest d'Hervilly, and sometimes Edmond de Goncourt, Degas, Manet and Fantin-Latour'[5].

Félix Bracquemond (from *GBA*, August 1884, p. 156).

Marie ■ He must also have rubbed shoulders with the presumed dedicatee of this work, Marie Bracquemond (1840-1916), born Quivoron. A painter herself, she had married Bracquemond in 1869. Gauguin had known her since the Impressionist exhibitions of 1879 and 1880 in which she too took part. In 1886, Bracquemond was admitted to the Salon 'hors concours' and was therefore excluded from the Impressionist exhibition (this was the rule), so Marie alone of the two exhibited that year. She was on good terms with Gauguin: Geffroy noted that Gauguin recommended absorbent media to her[6], while her son Pierre Bracquemond remembered Gauguin teaching her to use prepared canvases and to avoid overly thick application of oils[7].
Marie was a precociously gifted painter, and in the early 1880s was painting portraits and allegorical subjects that combined Ingresque draughtsmanship with 18th century graces.


Marie Bracquemond: *Self-Portrait* (cover of the catalogue of the *Marie Bracquemond* exhibition, Bernheim-Jeune, 1962, detail).

In the 1879 and 1880 exhibitions, Havard had referred to her 'vaporous studies in indecisive tones'[8], while Armand Silvestre spoke of 'very harmonious effects in which tapestry backgrounds are seen as if in the light of apotheosis'. Of her *Study from Nature*, he observed, 'This art is ultimately inspired rather by Boucher's landscapes than by the true aspect of nature'[9]. But, unlike her husband, she was favourably impressed by the light tones of Impressionism and moved in the 1880s toward a decidedly modern style. Focillon saw in her one of the three best women painters of Impressionism[10].

Marie gradually gave up her painting career during the late 1880s, leaving many works unfinished. She had been passionate about her art, as the memoirs of her son Pierre testify, so it seems unlikely that her husband's strong personality and rejection of Impressionism were enough in themselves to discourage her. Her health was, we are told, declining and this may have one of the reasons for her renunciation.

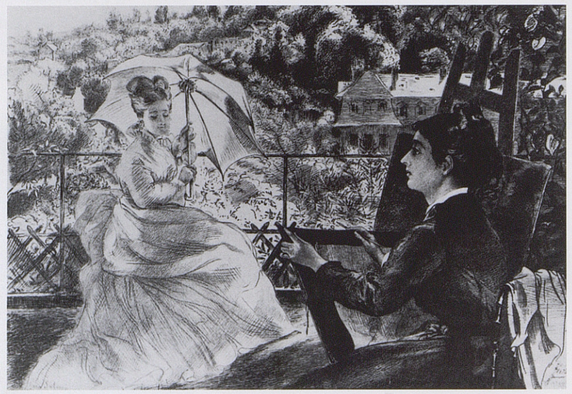
The pointilliste technique of this work suggests that it was painted early in the friendship of Gauguin and the Bracquemonds, almost certainly between the Impressionist exhibition of 1886, which lasted from 15 May to 15 June, and Gauguin's departure for Pont-Aven in mid-July. On Gauguin's pointilliste phase, see *Still Life with Horse's Head (216)*.

Marie Bracquemond: *Félix Bracquemond from his Studio*. This work appeared in the Impressionist exhibition of 1886 (from J.-P. Bouillon: *Félix et Marie Bracquemond*, Mortagne-Chartres, 1972).

[1] Gauguin to Mette, first fortnight of June 1886 (Merlhès 99).
[2] Gauguin to Mette, late July 1886 (Merlhès 107).
[3] Gauguin to Theo Van Gogh, 14 November 1888 (Merlhès 181).
[4] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 226.
[5] G. Geffroy, cited in the catalogue of the *Marie Bracquemond* exhibition, Paris, Bernheim-Jeune, 1962, p. 6.
[6] Geffroy in the *Marie Bracquemond* catalogue, p. 6.
[7] J.-P. Bouillon: *Marie Bracquemond*, catalogue of the exhibition *The Crisis of Impressionism*, Ann Arbour (Michigan), 1970, p. 59.
[8] H. Havard: 'L'exposition des peintres indépendants', *Le Siècle*, 2 April 1880, p. 2.
[9] A. Silvestre: 'Le monde des arts', *La Vie Moderne*, 24 April 1880, p. 262.
[10] J.-P. Bouillon, 1970, p. 58, note 7.

Documents and bibliography:
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 226: '[sold to] Bracquemond Landscape Sèvres 100'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 164 (repr.).

Provenance:
Bought from Gauguin by Bracquemond for FF 100 (see sketchbook, D above).
E.L.[Laffon] sale, Paris, Drouot, 17 March 1938, no. 63.
Sale, Paris, Charpentier, 7 December 1951, no. 127 (to Mme Jacquemard, Paris).
Private collection.



Félix Bracquemond: *Terrace of the Villa Brancas*, with Marie on the right, 1876, engraving. Wooster (Ohio), College of Wooster Art Museum, John Taylor Arms Collection (Donation of Ward M. and Miriam C. Canaday).

Marie Bracquemond: *Lady in White*, 1880. Cambrai, Musée de la ville.

215

215
Fruit in a Bowl

Canvas. 0.33 × 0.45
Signed and dedicated lower right:
Au Seigneur Roy / PG

This rather untypical still life bears a dedication that is undeniably in Gauguin's hand. It is not easy to date, though it clearly belongs to his Impressionist phase. Its light touch and frontality incline us to place it among Gauguin's *pointilliste* experiments of 1886.

We do not know when it was dedicated to the painter Louis Roy (1862-1907). Roy, like Schuffenecker, worked in the Vanves *lycée*, where he held the post of *répétiteur* or assistant from 1882-1893. No doubt Schuffenecker brought them together, though we do not know when they met. Roy was very close to the Synthetists around 1889, and showed several paintings at the Volpini exhibition. At that point, Gauguin painted his portrait (*W317bis*), and Roy will be dealt with in greater depth in the entry for that work.

Documents and bibliography:
If this is the still life exhibited in 1886, see *77*, D.

Exhibition:
(?) *8e exposition de peinture* [impressionniste], Paris, 1 rue Laffitte, 1886, no. 42 (*Still Life*, which, as the reviews make clear, represented oranges); see also *77*, E.

Provenance:
The painter Louis Roy.
Bought in Pont-Aven in the early 20th century by the English painter Sir Matthew Smith (1879-1959).
Sir Matthew's brother, by inheritance, 1959.
Peter Birkett-Smith, son of the above, 1966.
Private collection, Great Britain.

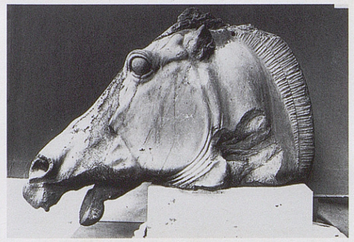
216

216
Still Life with Horse's Head

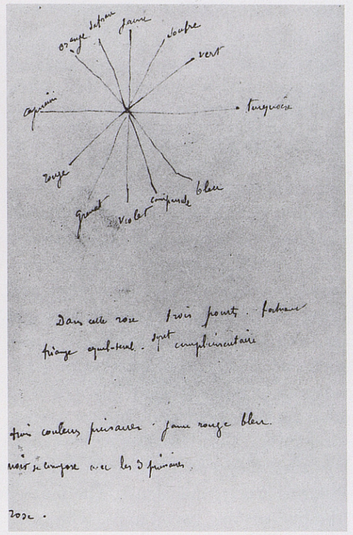
Canvas. 0.49 × 0.38
Signed lower right: *Paul Gauguin*
(the signature seems to have been restored)
W183

A new Avant-Garde
This composition stands out from Gauguin's 'habitual' production by its pointillism and clean, geometrical outlines. It can be dated to the period of Gauguin's *rapprochement* with the Neo-Impressionists during the first half of 1886.

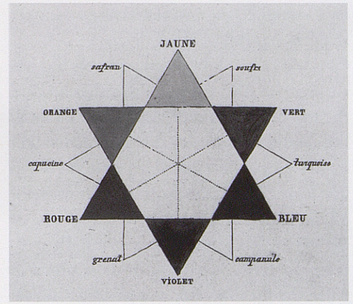
Prudent alliance ■ Camille Pissarro was converted to the theories of Signac and Seurat around the last quarter of 1885, and it was he who put them in touch with Gauguin, who had returned to Paris in early October. As always, Gauguin was attracted by new techniques and on 29 December told Mette how pleased he was to be taking part the following spring 'in a very comprehensive exhibition with new Impressionists who are very talented'[1].
And the 8th Impressionist exhibition (15 May-15 June 1886) did indeed bring together for the first and last time the traditional Impressionists (the 'romantics') and the Neo-Impressionists (the 'scientific' Impressionists). Alongside them were more traditional artists, such as Forain and Zandomeneghi, many of whom were friends of Degas. In bringing them together, however, it emphasised their differences, and tolerance was not the order of the day. Gustave Kahn (**D**, 1925) explained, 'At the time, the exponents of Impressionism believed there was such a thing as absolute pictorial truth, which everyone was convinced that they had discovered, [...they believed] in the need for a single method of painting'.
Gauguin chose to appear as one of the traditional Impressionists; the works that he exhibited were all from 1885. He could have shown *Still Life with Horse's Head* as a sort of personal manifesto (a point to which we shall return): it was the perfect opportunity. Instead, he seems to have preferred a stylistically coherent exhibit, but at first sought to maintain links with both camps. Kahn (1925, **D**) records an *al fresco* banquet held to celebrate the exhibition: 'it would have been a purely Neo-Impressionist occasion, but for Gauguin's presence [...] which didn't commit him to the technique, though the formula undoubtedly interested, attracted and repelled him'.
We know that the new method interested him. The milieux around him were burning the midnight oil, locked in intense discussion; even a 'traditional' artist like Bracquemond, whom Gauguin frequented around this time (see *Sèvres, 214*) was talking about complementaries[2].
At all events, Gauguin copied into his sketchbook[3] Charles Blanc's 'rosette' of complementaries (which included the names of the corresponding flowers) from the latter's *Grammaire des arts du dessin* (1867). This was a work much admired in artistic circles: it was an essential point of reference for Van Gogh[4], and provided Seurat with the premises for his thinking on colour. Gauguin, too, had read it with interest and had, the year before, taken up certain of its ideas in a letter[5]; some of these ideas are discussed in the entry for *Fruit (312)*, inset. We do not know exactly when Gauguin copied the rosette; was it before or after his discussions with Seurat?
The present still life seems an honest attempt to apply the new principles that also found their way into *Bordeaux Harbour (213)* and *Sèvres (214)*. But the paucity of such attempts suggest that they were just one in a long line of experiments and that Gauguin never intended to bind himself to divisionist doctrine.



The Horse of Selene, Elgin marbles. London, British Museum.



The Circle of Complementaries, sketch. Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 75. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.



C. Blanc: 'Complementary Colours' from *Grammaire des arts du dessin*, 1867 (reprint of 1879).

Indeed, over the previous year he had been following his own line of thought. Kahn (1924, **D**) reports that 'Seurat was worried by what people called Gauguin's paper. He had a copy, since Gauguin made no secret of it; it was an extract from an oriental text on the colouring of carpets, which contained certain truths about the gradation of harmonies, but which, in Seurat's view, did not comprise the entire technique'. A copy of the paper was found in Signac's archives; it proposed an approach more intuitive than scientific, and quite distinct from Neo-Impressionist methods (see *Clovis, 208*, inset).

Tension and conflict ■ Perhaps theory was the bone of contention between the very absolute Seurat and Gauguin, who, it must be said, was at this time often described as a 'zealot'[6]. Tension between the factions was rising; the fact that critical attention was largely confined to the Neo-Impressionists could only exacerbate this. Gauguin and Guillaumin were neglected. Guillaumin, 'wound up by Gauguin, who has a key to the man' (thus Seurat)[7], vented his hostility on the divisionists well before the closure of the exhibition, while an awkward incident concerning Signac's studio led to 'very disagreeable' letters from Gauguin to Signac in early July. The situation came to a head when, in early August, Gauguin and Guillaumin refused to exhibit at the Indépendants alongside Camille Pissarro, Seurat, and Signac. The mutual hostility of the two camps (Gauguin, Guillaumin and Schuffenecker, quickly reconciled with Degas, versus the Neo-Impressionists) grew out of all proportion. By December, the two sides were no longer shaking hands[8].

Gauguin's divisionist phase probably did not survive the first serious skirmishes around the second fortnight of June 1886. This still life should therefore date from the first half of the year. There are signs that *Bordeaux Harbour (213)* dates from March or April 1886, and that the very verdant view of *Sèvres (214)* belongs to late spring. By contrast, we have next to no indication as to when the present work was painted – unless we count its rather more literal application of divisionist principles, which suggests a date before the hostilities of the summer.

Gauguin never returned to the prescriptions of Neo-Impressionism with the exception of the ironic *Ripipoint Still Life* (*W376*) of 1889. This brief interlude nonetheless left its trace, not so much in terms of colour as in Gauguin's brushwork; his strokes became finer and more flickering in the works painted in Pont-Aven during the following summer, though still remote from the dots of classical pointillism. This influence gradually abated. Gauguin may, perhaps, have been impressed by the subtlety of texture in Seurat's work, and attempted to conjure similar effects for himself, rather as he had with Cézanne's very different surface effects some years before. We should further note, with Kahn (1924, **D**), that Seurat had considerable esteem for Gauguin's work.

Greece and Japan

The subject of this picture is as surprising as its style. Gauguin juxtaposes objects from two civilisations, the classical and the oriental, with the clear intention of confronting two cultures or two aesthetics. Kane (**D**) cites a number of previous works affording such collocations.

Classical studies ■ In the centre, Kane has identified the head of Selene's horse from the east pediment of the Parthenon. Gauguin's model was not the original, which he may perhaps have seen in the British Museum during his fleeting visit to London of 1885, but its reproduction in plaster of Paris, which was widely used to teach drawing skills. Easy to obtain, and wholly lacking in aura, this cast was offered for 12 shillings in the Museum's *Catalogue of Reproductions from Ancient Marbles, Bronzes, etc.* of 1874[9].

Here it seems logical to suppose an allusion either to the classical aesthetic or to classical teaching methods. Gauguin later condemned the dead hand of academicism: 'The study of the Greek, particularly the Greece of decadence, disheartened and disgusted me, inspiring a sentiment of death without hope of rebirth'[10]. Is this what the object's presence implies here? If so, his choice of a Greek statue is a surprising one. It seems likely that, overall, Gauguin's hostility toward Greek art was largely confined to Hellenistic works, and his 'personal museum' of reproductions eventually included a very few photos of 5th c. BC sculpture, an art of pure, clean lines from which he later borrowed certain forms for his own work. In 1886, the memory of his 'long often sterile studies'[11] was more recent, and may perhaps have embraced this period of classic Greek art, to which he seems later to have been reconciled. The fat volume prominent in the foreground may represent some worthy instrument of classical culture.

Other horizons ■ Behind the pallid academic foreground (shadowed with the regulation divisionist complementaries) lies the layered colour and animation of a *japoniste* array. The rhythms imparted by the fans here are akin to those against which Monet's *Japanese Woman* (D. Wildenstein 387, 1876) poses; but the form taken by Gauguin's classical allusion is second-hand, and the objects embodying his oriental allusions are far from noble.

C. Monet: *The Japanese Woman*, detail (D. Wildenstein 387). Boston (Massachusetts), Museum of Fine Arts.

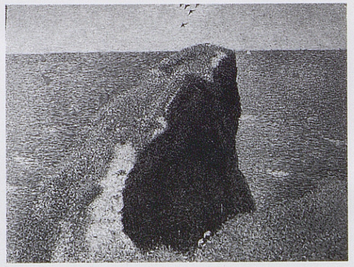
The fan is clearly Japanese, and the doll or articulated puppet is probably Chinese; its robe is perhaps Japanese[12]. Such curiosities were the height of fashion, and were often manufactured for export; they were sometimes produced directly in Europe or the United States. Since the 1860s, they had been widely available from shops specialising in *Chinoiseries* or *Japoneries* and the specialist departments of large stores. This motley collection should probably be understood as referring to the renewal in painting and ceramics long since inspired by Japanese art. We should remember that Gauguin was in regular contact with Degas and Bracquemond at around the time of the exhibition (see, in particular, the inset to *Sèvres, 214*, a work painted at the Bracquemond house). Moreover, it is possible that *Flowers and Japanese Book (95)* of 1882 reflected a degree of curiosity about things Japanese.

A new aesthetic? ■ There is therefore some reason to wonder why there is no allusion here to Japanese prints. Their artistic value was widely recognised in the aftermath of the Universal Exhibition of 1878, and more

particularly after the exhibition organised by Gonse in 1883. We know that Gauguin had, by 1886, had plenty of opportunities to see and discuss Japanese prints, but what he thought of them we do not know. Yet, as Berger (**D**) observes, they left their mark here. Certain elements of this painting – the framing, the layering of depth, the decorative rhythms and linear outlines – can have had little or no other contemporary source. In that case, it must have been Seurat who transmitted this influence; it is, after all, Seurat's methods that Gauguin here adopts. And Dorra attributes the simple, clear outlines and gradation of space in Seurat to the influence of Hiroshige and Hokusai[13]. But the first known signs of Gauguin taking a personal interest in Japanese prints come only in 1888 (see the still life *260*). In 1886, they seem not yet to have caught his attention.

What, then, motivated Gauguin to produce this manifesto-composition juxtaposing classical and oriental aesthetics? We do not know. It is not clear that Gauguin wholeheartedly favoured either, and both seem, in the last analysis, to be viewed through the prism of modernity. Rehearsing, near the end of his life, the various sources of his art, Gauguin wrote 'I sometimes went back a long way, further than the horses of the Parthenon [...] as far as my childhood geegee, the good old wooden horse'[14]. The overtones of primitivism are very remote from this composition, whose main function was perhaps stylistic experiment.

That same year, Schuffenecker too painted a pointillist still-life, with an album or writing pad in the foreground and a Japanese fan in the background; the presence of a vase of roses in bloom suggests a date some time after the start of May. It was surely Gauguin who introduced Schuffenecker to Neo-Impressionist circles, but the latter's experiments in that direction lasted much longer than his friend's.



G. Seurat: *Le Bec du Hoc* (Hauke 158). London, Tate Gallery.

C.-É Schuffenecker: *Flowers with Japanese Fan*. Private collection. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

[1] Gauguin to Mette, 29 December 1885 (Merlhès 92).
[2] Camille to Lucien Pissarro, 5 March 1886 (Bailly-Herzberg 319).
[3] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald, 1962), p. 75.
[4] Vincent Van Gogh to Gauguin, 24-25 November 1888 (538a).
[5] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 14 January 1885 (Merlhès 65).
[6] This is how Camille Pissarro described him in certain letters of 1886, for example, Bailly-Herzberg 349 and 360.
[7] Seurat to Signac, c. 16-17 June 1886 (Merlhès XXVII).
[8] On this period, see V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984: Letters XXVII-XXXII and 103-104 and pp. 420, note 191, 424, note 201, 430-431, note 206, and 437; J. Bailly-Herzberg: *Correspondance de Camille Pissarro 1865-1885*, Paris, v. II, 1986, pp. 40 and 72.
[9] Page 11, no. 68; we are grateful to Mr B.F. Cook of the British Museum for this information.
[10] Paul Gauguin: *Diverses choses*, pp. 223-224.
[11] Gauguin describes these years in *Avant et après*, 1903, p. 16.
[12] According to Mme Simizu of the Musée Guimet and Mme Bobot of the Musée Cernuschi.
[13] H. Dorra: 'Seurat's Japonism', *GBA*, February 1969, pp. 81-84.
[14] Paul Gauguin: *Avant et après*, 1903, p. 16.

Documents and bibliography:

G. Kahn: 'Au temps du pointillisme', *Mercure de France*, 1 April 1924, pp. 16-17 (on the relations between Gauguin and the Neo-Impressionists).
G. Kahn: 'Paul Gauguin', *L'Art et les Artistes*, November 1925, pp. 42-46 (same subject).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 183 (repr.).
W.M. Kane: 'Gauguin's *Le Cheval blanc*, Sources and Syncretic Meanings', *The Burlington Magazine*, July 1966, pp. 355-366, 360 (repr.).
K. Berger: *Japonismus*, Munich, 1980, English edition, 1992, pp. 148-150 (repr.).

Exhibitions:

Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 63.
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy and London, Tate Gallery, 1955, no. 8.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 15.
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 15.
Der Japonismus in der Malerei und Graphik des 19. Jahrhunderts, Berlin, Haus am Waldsee, 1965, no. 37.
Neo-Impressionism, New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1967, no. 113.
Weltkulturen und moderne Kunst, Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1972, no. 649.
Post-Impressionism, London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1979-1980, no. 80.
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Art Museum, 1987, no. 15.

Provenance:

Hjalmar Gabrielson, Göteborg, c. 1926, still belonged to him in 1938.
S. Lindqvist, Stockholm, c. 1948.
Private collection, Switzerland, c. 1970.
Sale, New York, Christie's, 21 October 1980, no. 218.
Acquired in 1986 by:
Tokyo, Bridgestone Museum of Art – WP-168 (BMA).

The First Stay in Pont-Aven (July-October 1886)

Gauguin had first planned to go and work in Brittany the previous year: 'If I sell a few paintings, next summer I shall set up in an inn in some remote corner of Brittany, living cheaply and painting. Brittany's definitely the cheapest place to live'[1]. Several of his colleagues were able to recommend Pont-Aven: Jobbé-Duval (on whom, see *Church, 69*, inset), who had known the village since the 1860s; Granchi-Taylor (on whom, see his portrait, *205*); and Fernand Quignon, a friend of Schuffenecker's, who is cited relative to *Breton Women Chatting (237*, **D***)* and in the introduction to Gauguin's stay in Paris during the winter of 1887-1888. Quignon seems to have visited Pont-Aven during the first half of the 1880s; Cariou places the Gloanec inn-sign painted by Quignon and Van den Anker in this period (the sign is reproduced in the Chronology: 1886, page 601)[2], while Le Paul has Quignon staying there in 1884[3].

A warm reception

Pont-Aven is a pretty market-town set in a valley; it offers considerable variety of landscape within walking distance, and its exceptionally mild micro-climate lends itself to open-air painting. For the previous twenty years it had housed a colony of French and foreign artists. In 1880, Blackburn wrote: 'Pont-Aven has one advantage over other places in Brittany; its inhabitants in their picturesque costume (which remains unaltered) have learned that to sit as a model is a pleasant and lucrative profession […] the peasants, both men and women, are glad to sit for a franc for the greater part of a day'. His remarks appeared in *Breton Folk. An Artistic Tour in Brittany*[4], a work no doubt widely known in artistic circles, whose illustrator, Caldecott, left his mark on Gauguin's work (see *Breton Women Chatting, 237)*. Artistic activity was somewhat seasonal. 'Few artists now venture to stay in Pont-Aven during the winter', a local journalist complained; a few years before things had, he noted, been quite different. 'And yet the winter is the best season here, at least for the landscape artist […] Let us hope that spring and summer soon summon back to Pont-Aven its brilliant colony of itinerant painters'[5].

In 1886, the colony comprised a hundred or so artists; along with the occasional tourist, it gave a considerable summer boost to the fortunes of the town's 1,500 inhabitants. When the two hotels and the *pension* filled up, rooms and studios were found in the village. Pont-Aven boasted some forty licensed victuallers (in 1883, the Municipal Council put their closing time back to 10 p.m.), along with a post office, doctor, justice of the peace, two notaries and a priest[6]. The warm relations between Bretons and artists, the endless joshing of the student painters and the arguments between artistic factions made Pont-Aven a very lively place and quite different from the sombre, primitive Brittany that Gauguin later came to love.

These were not avant-garde circles, though they were capable of a degree of curiosity about Impressionism and its local champion, Gauguin. For Signac, Gauguin's rejection of divisionism placed him among those who 'rejected progress'[7]. He wrote this about a fortnight after Gauguin's arrival when Gauguin was being hailed as the leading artistic radical of the colony: 'people respect me as the best painter in Pont-Aven […] everyone here (Americans English Swedes Frenchmen) competes for my advice and I'm stupid enough to give it'[8].

Pont-Aven for the first time in his life afforded Gauguin the status of leader, one that suited his character perfectly and which he retained during subsequent stays. Artists

◀ *Vase of Nasturtiums (218)*, detail.

like Laval and Puigaudeau, in becoming his followers, made inroads into the solitude that had hitherto surrounded him.

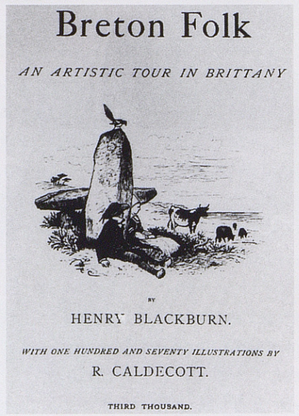
A productive stay

Gauguin seems to have worked hard, and produced a score or more of paintings in three months, from mid-July to mid-October. The solitary Impressionist, whose Dieppe landscapes had been animated only by cattle, now ventured to include in his landscapes the peasant figures that peopled his sketchbooks; in this he was following in the footsteps of his master Pissarro. As he told Mette in October, he was still doing 'lots of studies'[9], that is, works of considerable spontaneity painted from nature, but he now aspired to larger and more carefully structured landscapes that could accommodate a number of figures; examples of this include *Landscape with Swine (229)*, *Breton Shepherdess (233)* and the relatively monumental *Beach (234)*.

These figures in his landscapes are taken either from cursory sketches made from life or from large pastels for which the models posed. The Pont-Aven women's willingness to pose resulted in a substantial harvest of large drawings highlighted with pastel. These are more carefully worked than ever. The little sketches were, of course, a well-established practice, but he now absorbed them more directly and systematically into his work. Indeed, the 1886 drawings remained in his repertory for a long time, while his concern with composition led him toward a working method that soon became systematic (see *Breton Shepherdess*, insets).

Very small, vibrant brush-strokes, a hangover from Gauguin's Neo-Impressionist phase (see *Still Life with Horse's Head, 216*), remained a feature of Gauguin's works during this stay. His very personal and long-standing interest in spatial experiment again came to the fore[10], for example, in the rather peremptorily sculpted spaces of *Pont-Aven Woman and Child (222)* or *Breton Shepherdess (233)*; in the perspective effects of *Bathing (223)*; and in the very tactile shaping of the landscape in *231* (which followed closely on Gauguin's first efforts in ceramics). These forms of spatial manipulation became more pronounced in 1888, in, for example, *Breton Woman with Pitcher (267)* and *Wrestlers (298)*.

[1] Gauguin to Mette, 19 August 1885 (Merlhès 83).
[2] A. Cariou: *Les Peintres de Pont-Aven*, Rennes, 1994, p. 44.
[3] C.-G. Le Paul: *L'Impressionnisme dans L'École de Pont-Aven*, Lausanne and Paris, 1983, p. 195.
[4] H. Blackburn: *Breton Folk. An Artistic Tour in Brittany*, London, 1880 and 1883.
[5] 'Chronique régionale', *L'Union agricole et maritime*, 23 April 1886, p. 3.
[6] Statistics on the *commune* can be found in V. Merlhès: *Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 333.
[7] Signac to Camille Pissarro, late July 1886, in Merlhès, 1984, p. 431.
[8] Gauguin to Mette, late July 1886 (Merlhès 110).
[9] Gauguin to Mette, October 1886 (Merlhès 113).
[10] See the Introduction to the period 1879-1883.



H. Blackburn: *Breton Folk*, cover.

At the auberge Gloanec: 1. Puigaudeau, at the table, in bowler hat, 2. Laval, further to the left on the same table, in boater. Musée de Pont-Aven.

The Bois d'Amour, old postcard.

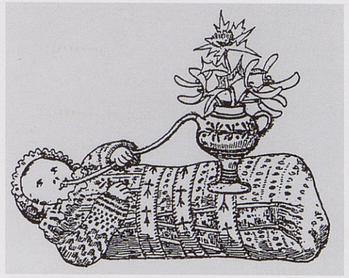
217

217
White Tablecloth (Pension Gloanec)

Oil on wood. 0.550 × 0.585
Signed and dated (with location) upper right: *P Gauguin / 86 Pension / Gloanec*; Inscriptions, upper left corner: *Pont* and upper right corner: *Aven*
W208

The presence of cherries suggests that this picture was one of the first that Gauguin painted in Pont-Aven, where he arrived in mid-July.
For Gauguin, the *pension* whose name appears in this still life was a natural choice: 'down by the bridge, [there is] a quaint little auberge (with a sign-board painted by one of the inmates), the Pension Gloanec. This is the true Bohemian home at Pont-Aven, where living is even more moderate than at the inns. Here the panels of the rooms are also decorated with works of art, and here, in the evening, and in the morning, seated around a table in the road, dressed in the easy *bourgeois* fashion of the country, [artists] may be seen… ', Blackburn noted in 1880[1]. Gauguin noted that board and lodging, 'including two good meals a day with cider' in Blackburn's words, cost only seventy-five francs a month. 'What a pity we didn't come to live in Brittany before', Gauguin added[2].

The house at 13 place de la Mairie seems to have been built around 1860 by Joseph Aimé Marie Gloanec (or Le Glouannec), whose profession at the time of his marriage was given as 'miller'. It is later stated as 'pit-sawyer'; by 1869 he was an 'inn-keeper'. The vintner's shop established on these premises was converted to an inn in 1863 and Joseph's wife, Marie-Jeanne took over the management of it[3]. She left fond memories (see inset below).
The building is deeper than it is wide (it now houses the Maison de la presse). The five windows of its little façade appear in many photographs, as does the inn-sign, which was painted by Quignon and Van den Anker on an iron panel, and shows the 'Gloanec tribe at Port Manech' (see reproduction in the Chronology: 1886). Other photos show groups of artists, many of them wearing clogs, sitting before the door with the landlady and her three or four serving-women, some of whom could occasionally be persuaded to pose.



Baby's feeding-bottle (from *Le Fureteur breton*, 1909, p. 86).

The dining room, whose walls were decorated with the works of *pensionnaires*, was rather dark; it was furnished with long tables at which 'rough men' sat, in the Menpes' words, 'serving themselves out of the common dish and dipping great slices of bread into their plates'[4]. It is very unlikely that this work was painted *in situ*; apart from the question of light, the dining-room can hardly have served as a studio during the day.
The still life may therefore have been laid out in Gauguin's lodgings or in those of a friend, but it tells us little or nothing about such lodgings, since the wall decoration is of a kind frequently found in Gauguin's work (see *Apples, Jug, Iridescent Glass, 144*) and may be fictive, while the tablecloth serves a compositional purpose, maximizing the luminosity of the painting as a whole, while leaving a stretch of the table bare (a device Gauguin also employed in the still life *220*). Among the objects on the cloth are a bowl with lip-handles, and a baby's feeding-bottle, whose spout would be connected to the baby's mouth via a soft tube. The bottle is in Quimper faience and is of a largely ornamental kind that spread through the hostelries of the time in parallel with the development of tourism under the Second Empire[5]. A similar one can be seen in *218*.

[1] H. Blackburn: *Breton Folk. An Artistic Tour in Brittany*, London, 1880, p. 130.

Marie-Jeanne

Photos of the artists' landlady reveal a simple-hearted woman of honest good-nature; this is particularly true of those reproduced here, in the *Chronology* (1886), and in Pichon's *Sur les Traces de Gauguin*[1].
Marie-Jeanne Morvan was born in Pont-Aven on 8 February 1839, and married Joseph Gloannec just before her sixteenth birthday, when he was around twenty-six. They had eight children, five of whom died young[2].
Paul-Émile Colin confirms that she rather than her husband ran the inn[3] and that her warm welcome combined with low prices and credit facilities attracted a colony of often impecunious painters. Bernard called Marie-Jeanne 'the artists' mother'[4] but she must have combined her generosity with astute management since in 1894 she had a more modern and luxurious annex, the Hôtel Gloanec, built. This stood next to the hotel of her rival, the Hôtel Julia, on the same square. In 1898, she handed over management to her son Armand, bequeathed her worldly goods to her children, and took herself quietly off to the kitchens. 'That's how things are done in Brittany', she explained to Bernard, who was astonished to find her there when visiting in 1910. 'I was moved by her stoical resignation', he noted[5].
Widowed in 1906, Marie-Jeanne Gloanec died in 1915, having met and waited on a great many painters. Forty years later, her memory lived on, as 'a woman of perfect kindness […] who did a great deal for the reputation of Pont-Aven'[6]. Her visitors' book was divided up among her heirs, but should one days, says Quéinec, be published[7].
For Gauguin, the *pension* Gloanec was a roof over his head when his money ran out. In 1886, he paid his board and lodging; later visits were often made on credit. However, he seems eventually to have paid off his debt, by some combination of money and paintings; Maurice Denis, visiting Pont-Aven in August 1905, recorded that 'old Marie-Jeanne doesn't have bad memories of Gauguin, she didn't lose too much on him'[8].
Gauguin noted in his 1888-1890 sketchbook (**D**) that he had given Marie-Jeanne three paintings on wood: this one, the landscape with *Cottages (266)* and the still life *Fête Gloanec (301)*. She also possessed at least one landscape, which featured striking purples and golds (see *204*), *Self-Portrait with Yellow Christ* (*W324*), *Arearea no varua ino* (*W514*) of 1894, and perhaps other paintings of which all trace has been lost. We know that she sold some of them to Maurice Denis when they met again in 1905. Vollard went to Pont-Aven as early as 1892 hoping to unearth some Gauguins, and Delavallée mistakenly believes that Mme Gloanec sold Vollard the present work[9]; Vollard, however, says that he returned empty-handed[10].

The dining room of the auberge Gloanec, with Marie-Jeanne Gloanec and her serving women.
Musée de Pont-Aven.

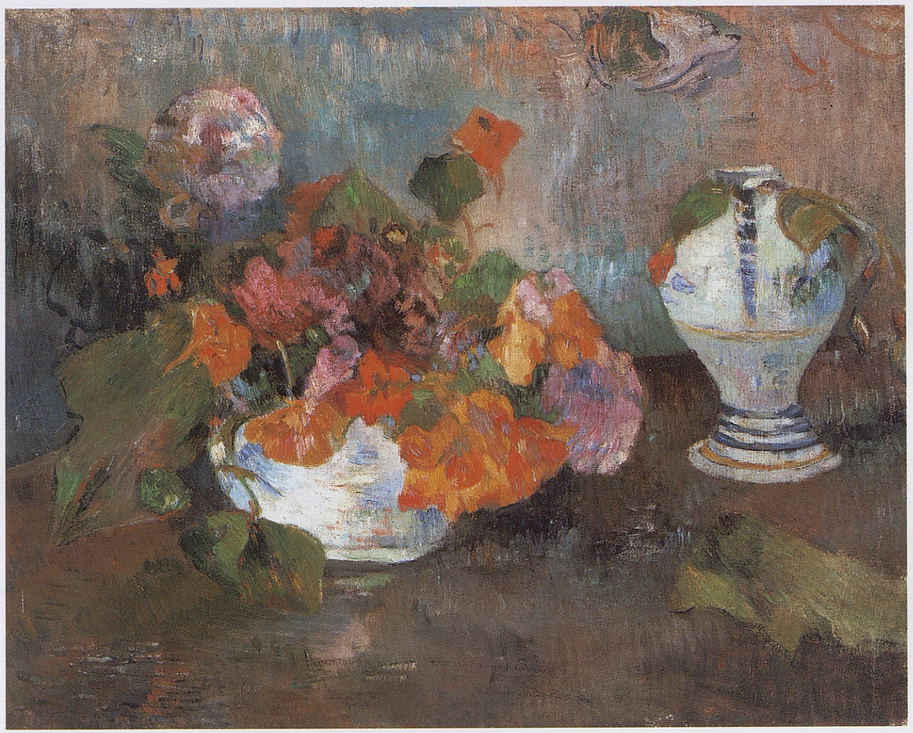
[1] Y. Le Pichon: *Sur les traces de Gauguin*, Paris, 1986, p. 70.
[2] B. Quéinec: *Pont-Aven, 1800-1914*, [Pont-Aven,] 1983, pp. 123-124.
[3] See Chassé, 1921 (**D**).
[4] É. Bernard: 'Quelques souvenirs inédits sur l'artiste-peintre Paul Gauguin […]', Lorient, [1939], p.9.
[5] Bernard, [1939], p. 20.
[6] T.P. [P. Tuarze?]: 'La Servante de l'École de Pont-Aven…', *Le Progrès de Cornouaille*, 15 June 1957, p. 3.
[7] Quéinec, 1983, p. 125.
[8] M. Denis: *Journal*, vol. II, Paris, 1957, p. 21.
[9] In Chassé, 1955 (**D**).
[10] A. Vollard: *Souvenirs d'un marchand de tableaux*, 1937, reprinted Paris, 1957, p. 151.

[2] Gauguin to Mette, c. 25 July 1886 (Merlhès 107).
[3] On the inn, see, in particular, B. Quéinec: *Pont Aven, 1800-1914*, [Pont-Aven,] 1983, pp. 123-124; A. Cariou: *Les Peintres de Pont-Aven*, Rennes, 1994, p. 24.
[4] M. and D. Menpes: *Brittany*, 1905 (in the catalogue of the *Gauguin and the School of Pont-Aven*, U.S.A, 1994, pp. 23-24).
[5] Our thanks to Monsieur Le Stum of the Musée de Quimper, who informed us of the precise nature of this object, and supplied us with the image, reproduced here, which shows how it was used.

Documents and bibliography:
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 224: 'Gloanec 3 panels given' (the two others must be *266* and *301*).
Receipt signed by Armand Gloanec on the hotel's headed paper: 'I have sold to Monsieur Maurice Denis a Gauguin signed Madeleine Bernard [still life *301*] and another Gauguin still life situated in the café [and] two other paintings by Bernard for the sum of twelve hundred francs./ Pont-Aven, 13 September 1905/ A. Gloanec (Archives of the Musée de Pont-Aven).
C. Chassé: *Gauguin et le groupe de Pont-Aven*, Paris, 1921, p. 62, cites a recent letter from P.-É. Colin: 'we found ourselves at the hotel of old Marie, […] [who was] married to a well-disposed old drunkard who watched his wife manage her household with consummate mastery. The dining room was decorated with paintings on little panels by the painters who had passed through. Gauguin was represented by two panels very different from what he was doing then, but very well painted; one showed cherries'.
C. Amiet: 'Erinnerungen aus meiner pariser Zeit', *Neue Schweizer Rundschau*, August 1946 (in the catalogue of the exhibition *Gauguin et l'école de Pont-Aven*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1989, p. 140): 'As my eyes gradually adjusted to the half-dark, I made out the rich covering of paintings on the walls […] one of the paintings, signed P. Go., immediately attracted my attention: cherries in a fruit-bowl, on a white tablecloth; simplicity itself, without a trace of affectation, magically clear and luminous, completely natural, without lapsing into chiaroscuro; dazzling colours simply applied in little surfaces and strokes; I was very moved by it, literally enchanted [Amiet's memory of the signature is mistaken]'.
C. Chassé: *Gauguin en son temps*, Paris, 1955, p. 45, notes Delavallée's remarks, recorded in 1932: 'the first Gauguin painting that I saw showed a bowl containing cherries. I think that Ambroise Vollard bought it in 1892 or 1893' [we know that Vollard did not buy it, but he may have attempted to].
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 208 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Paris, Galerie Dru, 1923, no. 7.
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 24 or 27 depending on the edition.
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 15.
Gauguin et ses amis, Paris, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1934, no. 47.
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, and London, Tate Gallery, 1955, no. 14.
Gauguin and the Pont-Aven Group, London, Tate Gallery, 1966, no. 2.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 28.

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to Marie-Jeanne Gloanec in 1886.
Bought from Armand Gloanec by Maurice Denis in September 1905, see receipt, **D** above; Denis is thought to have sold this work very late in his life, thus shortly before 1943.
The Hon. Michael Astor, London, c. 1955.
D.W. Astor, London, c. 1966.
Sale [Astor], London, Christie's, 30 March 1981, no. 39.
Private collection, Japan.



218

218
Vase of Nasturtiums

Canvas. 0.33 × 0.41

The presence of a baby's drinking-bottle, like that in *217*, with its handle turned toward the spectator, suggests that this still life was painted in Brittany; the nasturtiums suggest a date in August or September. The pellucid atmosphere is characteristic of Gauguin's Pont-Aven still lifes of 1886.

Documents and bibliography:
(?) B. Rüttenauer, reviewing the Moderne Galerie exhibition, Munich, in *Die Rheinlande*, vol. XX, July-December 1910, pp. 374-375 (in P. Kropmanns: *Gauguin und die Schule von Pont-Aven…*, Sigmaringen 1997, pp. 45, 93, note 145): states that *Flowers*, from this exhibition, is an old work, cf. also *Bouquet (149)*.
Probably: Vollard Archives, inventory of 1 January 1922, no. 403: Flowers. Oil 32 × 41 [valued at FF] 2000.

Exhibitions:
Probably: *Salon d'automne*, Paris, Grand Palais, 1906, no. 78: *Still Life (flowers and vases)*, Vollard collection.
(?) Munich, Moderne Gallerie [Thannhauser], August 1910, no. 7: *Bouquet of Red Flowers* (unless this was the *Still life red flowers* bought by Vollard – according to his diary – from Mette Gauguin on 8 May 1907, which may be *Bouquet, 149*) – the catalogue is in French, almost all the works having been lent by Vollard.
(?) *Manet and the Post-Impressionists*, London, Grafton Galleries, November 1910-January 1911, no. 31: *Bouquet of Flowers*, belonging to Vollard (unless this was the *Still Life red flowers*, etc.).

Provenance:
Vollard, probably c. 1906 (see **E** above).
Included in a packing case containing 364 works from the Vollard inheritance, sequestrated at sea by the Royal Navy and deposited in Ottawa until 1949.
Given by Jeanne and Léontine Vollard, Saint-Denis de la Réunion, in 1950, to:
Ottawa, Canadian Museum of Fine Arts – 4995.

219

219
Summer Bouquet and Clogs

Canvas. 0.33 × 0.42

This little study can be dated to a Breton location by the presence of Quimper ware and clogs; it reappears as part of the composite still life *239* of 1886. Among the flowers, to the left (perhaps) a poppy (flowering in early summer) and in the centre nasturtiums (flowering rather later).
Clogs were of real service in muddy weather, and in the photos of the time, many painters can be seen wearing them. We do not know whether Gauguin took to clogs on his first stay.

Documents and bibliography:
C. Chassé: *Gauguin en son temps*, Paris, 1921, p. 64, note 1: 'Monsieur Parent possesses […] a pink vase containing a rose, and beside it, […] clogs'.

Exhibitions:
Basel, Kunsthalle, 1928, no. 11.
Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1949-1950, ex-catalogue.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 30.
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Art Museum, 1987, no. 19.

Provenance:
Armand Parent, Paris, c. 1921 (see **D** above). A reputed Belgian violinist, who knew Le Pouldu well, Parent (1863-1934) had a very varied collection of modern painting.
Emil Hahnloser, Zurich, c. 1927.
Lisa Jäggli-Hahnloser, Winterthur, c. 1949.
Sale, London, Christie's, 10 December 1997, no. 129.
Sale, Paris, Drouot-Montaigne, 24 November 1998, no. 58.

220

220
Red Hat

Canvas. 0.45 × 0.53

This still life was perhaps arranged in the same room of the Pension Gloanec as *217*.

Exhibitions:
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 21.
Gauguin og hans Venner, Copenhagen, Winkel & Magnussen, 1956, no. 71.

Provenance:
Given by Gauguin to the painter Augusta Johanne Henriette Dohlmann or Dohleman (1847-1915): the original stretcher until recently carried the following inscription (in Danish): 'The painter Augusta Dohlmann received this painting from the artist in Paris'. Dohlmann was Danish; she had come to Paris in 1878 to study French and painting, and may have met Gauguin and his wife at that time. Rostrup tells us that she was a friend of Mette Gauguin. In 1886, she was still in Paris, having that year received a grant from the ministry to continue her studies in Paris. Her still lifes of flowers and fruit had enjoyed a favourable reputation since 1884. Gauguin mentions her in a letter to Mette of 24 May 1886 (Merlhès 97): 'At our exhibition I met some nice Danes Krojer Dohlman Lund etc… They always come to see if there's anything worth having'. Despite the scorn in this remark – Gauguin was hostile to all things Danish – it seems that his relations with Dohlmann were sufficiently cordial for him to present her with this painting.
Alice Lonberg, Denmark, c. 1948.
Johan Lonberg sale, Copenhagen, Rasmussen, 1-13 May 1964, no. 1178.
Sale, Copenhagen, Rasmussen, 18 March 1970, no. 2 (to Waring Jones, Wayzata, Minnesota).
Private collection.

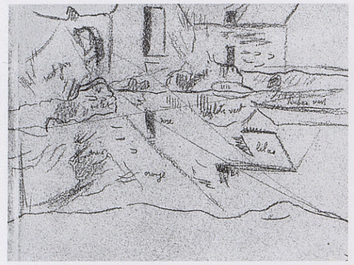
221
The Moulin du Bois d'Amour Bathing Place

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.73
Signed and dated lower left:
P Gauguin 86
W272

Hartrick's memoirs prove that this canvas was one of the first that Gauguin painted at Pont-Aven in 1886[1]; it should therefore date from late July or early August.
The title that we have adopted is the one written on the stretcher in blue pencil, and is the proper one, since the scene presented is indeed the bathing place at the Moulin du Bois d'Amour, one of the flour mills upstream of Pont-Aven on the right bank of the Aven. Gauguin set up his easel on the other bank, and one can make out the buildings in the background (they still exist), with the weir forming a diagonal across the Aven. In the post card that we reproduce, which slightly post-dates the painting, the weir has been raised a little for the purposes of the little electrically-powered factory built in 1899.
Gauguin made a sketch of this site, with colour indications, in a sketchbook that has since been split up. There is no date for the sketch, and the book was used over several years, before, during and after Gauguin's Martinique trip, so we cannot rule out the

Old postcard of the site.

221



The Aven at Moulin-Neuf, drawing. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, fonds du Musée d'Orsay. Photo: RMN.

possibility that the drawing was made in preparation for *Bathers (297)* of 1888. But its general atmosphere, the presence of a roof reflection that might be described as 'lilac' between the central and the centre right groups, combined with the fact that the colour indications mostly match, may suggest that the sketch is indeed from 1886.

This joyous site, with its resident populations of models, had obvious attractions for Gauguin. He returned two years later (see *Bathers, 297* and *Wrestlers, 298*), concentrating on the human figure, whereas, in this first and very Impressionist view of the scene, he perhaps avoided the challenge of close-up figures. Two of the figures in the background, to the right – the standing bather in profile and the lefthand little girl seated on the ground – reappear in another *Bathing Place (223)*.

This was one of the paintings that established Gauguin's position as a leader of the avant-garde in Pont-Aven. Hartrick recounts the astonishment of the rather traditionalist artistic colony: 'I well recall, too, the attack made on [Gauguin] by V., a Dutch painter, who, on the strength of a medal in the Salon, was more or less cock-of-the-walk among the painters then in Pont-Aven'[2]. 'V' was Hubert Vos, a painter of portraits and interiors born in 1855. Shortly before, the Breton paper *L'Union agricole et maritime* had proudly informed its readers of his residence in Pont-Aven: 'Among the artists currently in Pont-Aven, we note the name of Monsieur Hubert Vos, a Dutchman who deservedly won a medal in this year's Salon./ This young painter, as good-natured as he is clever, enjoys challenging his colleagues to emulate him, by calling on them to work alongside him, whether outdoors or in the studio. Thanks to his initiative, Pont-Aven has become a veritable school of painting'[3]. Alas for Vos, the arrival of Gauguin rather upset matters. Thus Hartrick: 'G.[Gauguin], shortly after his arrival, a stranger to most, came back for *déjeuner* one day and passed the crowd at the door of the auberge. He was carrying a canvas on which he had been painting some boys bathing on a weir, painted brilliantly with spots of pure colour in the usual Impressionist manner./ V. started by asking him, in the rudest way, what game was this he was playing, going on to quote Rembrandt, Bastien-Lepage and himself as witnesses of its futility, while the majority crowded round to enjoy the fun of the newcomer being baited. G, however, only smiled grimly, and elbowing his way through went about his business without explanation or retort. / The sequel to all this was really funny. Within a fortnight, V'.s special pupil P.[Puigaudeau], went off to Gauguin for instruction, leaving V. altogether./ […] Within a month, V. was secretly consulting his former student on Gauguin's methods and theories; finally, he went over a large canvas that he had just completed, taking out the blacks in the shadows and substituting spots of pure colour […]/ Six months later, he wrote to Cormon, whose pupil he had been […] announcing that he had joined the camp of the "Intransigeants" […]'[4].

[1] Hartrick, 1939 (**D**).
[2] Hartrick, 1939 (**D**).
[3] 'Chronique régionale', *L'Union agricole et maritime*, 4 June 1886, p. 3.
[4] Hartrick, 1939 (**D**).

Documents and bibliography:

Boussod et Valadon registers (Rewald, *GBA*, 1973, p. 90): 'Bathers, 61 × 73, Bought from the artist 28 December 1887 [FF] 300, Sold to Dupuy 26 December 1887 [FF] 450' (the fact that the sale to Dupuy predates the purchase from Gauguin indicates that the work was on deposit for sale).
F. Fénéon: 'Calendrier de décembre. V. Vitrines des marchands de tableaux', *La Revue indépendante*, 15 January 1888, p. 170: notes the presence of '*Little Bathers* (1886)' at Boussod's in December.
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952): '[sold to] Dupuis bathers [FF] 300'.
A.S. Hartrick: *A Painter's Pilgrimage through Fifty Years*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 32 (see above).
C. Chassé: *Gauguin en son temps*, Paris, 1955, p. 45: the painter Henri Delavallée states that Gauguin painted 'children bathing in the river' in 1886.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 272 (repr.).
J. Rewald: 'Theo Van Gogh, Goupil and the Impressionists', *GBA*, January-February 1973, pp. 14, 16-18 (repr.), 74-75, 90-91.

Exhibitions:

Visible alongside works by Pissarro and Guillaumin in the 1st-floor rooms of Boussod et Valadon in Paris, in December 1887 (see Fénéon, **D**).
Französische Kunst des XIX. Jahrhunderts, Munich, Heinemann, 1913, no. 86.
Gauguin and the Pont-Aven Group, London, Tate Gallery, 1966, no. 4.
Gauguin et le groupe de Pont-Aven, Zurich, Kunsthaus, 1966, no. 6.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Cincinnati Art Museum, 1971, no. 15.
Gauguin and the Nabis, Tokyo, Parthenon Tokyo, 1990, nos. 1-2.

Provenance:

On deposit for sale at Boussod et Valadon, c. December 1887 (Boussod registers, **D** above). First Gauguin work sold by Boussod et Valadon. It was bought on 26 December 1887 by Dupuis, an industrialist who, between 1888 and 1890, acquired seventeen Impressionist paintings from Boussod, including four Gauguins: this one, *Breton Women Chatting (237)*, *Dogs Running Through a Field (282)* and a *View of Pont-Aven* (perhaps *227*). Possibly sold on to Salvador Meyer in late 1890 by Dupuis, before the latter committed suicide on the presumption of his financial disgrace, according to Pissarro's letter of 23 December 1890: 'this fellow was too honest and shot himself because he thought he was ruined. His friends have been distressed to discover that his business was not nearly so bad as he thought; those who have taken it on find it excellent!! He seems to have flogged off his Degas and others to old Salvador Meyer for the cash' (in Rewald, *GBA*, 1973, p. 71, **D** above). Meyer or Mayer was a rue Laffitte art-dealer, notably connected with the early career of Forain. It is possible that Dupuis also sold certain works back to Boussod: cf. *Dogs Running (282)*, **P**.
Sale, Paris, 2 December 1902, no. 62 (*The Bathing Place*, signed left and dated 86).
Bought from Mme Godchaux by Bernheim-Jeune on 9 July 1910 and sold to Alphonse Kann, Paris, 11 July 1910 (no. 18233).
Bought from Jos Hessel by Bernheim-Jeune on 31 January 1914 (no. 20181).
Galerie J. Allard, Paris, c. 1922.
Barbizon House, London, c. 1926.
Charles Cochrane, London.

Lord Sieff of Brimpton sale, London, Sotheby's, 7 December 1966, no. 53 (to Hervé).
Sale, New York, Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, 28 October 1970, no. 31.
Mr and Mrs B.E. Bensinger, Chicago (Illinois), c. 1971.
Private collection, Great Britain.
Bought in 1973 by:
Hiroshima (Japan), Museum of Art – 126.

222
Pont-Aven Woman and Child

Canvas. 0.93 × 0.73
Signed and dated lower centre-right, on the diagonal: *P Gauguin 86*
W197

Lezaven hill is one possible site for this curious platform looking out over a meadow. Wherever it was, it afforded Gauguin a highly original experiment in spatial representation, juxtaposing two perspectives, one rising, one falling; this is more or less the reverse of *Bathing Place (223)* which fuses two viewpoints into a single image.

Documents and bibliography:

Vollard Archives, 1904 inventory: '3377 [provenance] Denis Cochin Brittany landscape, woman in blue, child in red 92 × 73 [FF] 500'.
R.S. [Richard Stiller]: 'Die Ausstellung von Paul Gauguin bei Arnold', *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 16 September 1910, p. 2: 'A landscape with woman and child, in which the little pointillist brushstroke is still used, it is in delicate grey-green and lacks major contrasts' [German original].
P. Fechter: 'Paul Gauguin. Zur Ausstellung in der Galerie Arnold', *Dresdner Neuesten Nachrichten*, 23 September 1910: cites the two Breton landscapes that featured in the Dresden exhibition.
Vollard Archives, 1912 diary, entry for Wednesday 11 December: 'Sold to Mr. Thannhauser in Munich […] Gauguin children in a forest 5000'.
G. Biermann: 'Gemälde aus dem Besitz der modernen Galerie Thannhauser, München', *Der Cicerone*, 1 May 1913, p. 319 (repr.).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 197 (repr.).

Exhibitions:

Dresden, Arnold Gallery, September-October 1910, no. 3: *Breton Landscape with Woman and Child* (almost all the works for this exhibition had been lent by Vollard).
(?) *Manet and the Post-Impressionists*, London, Grafton Galleries, November 1910-January 1911, no. 90 (*Pont-Aven*, belonging to Vollard).
Berlin, Thannhauser, 1928, no. 5.

222

Autour de Gauguin à Pont-Aven, Marcq-en-Barœul, Fondation Septentrion, 1985, no. 29.
Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée départemental du Prieuré, 1985, no. 44.
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Museum of Art, 1987, no. 17.

Provenance:

Bought from Denis Cochin by Vollard: the painting appears in the 1904 inventory (**D**) but not that of 1899 and may therefore have been acquired between those dates.
Sold by Vollard to Thannhauser, Munich, on 11 December 1912 (see Vollard Archives, 1912, **D** above).
Thannhauser (no. 20124 according to a German-language notebook).
Emile Heijne, Stockholm, c. 1938.
Mr and Mrs Lester Avnet, Kings Point (Long Island, New York).
Private collection.

223

223
Bathing Place, Pont-Aven Port

Canvas. 0.815 × 0.600
Signed and dated lower left:
P Gauguin 86
W198

The title traditionally borne by this work is correct; it shows a path that leads down from Mount Saint-Guénolé to the Aven river, level with the port, since on the right we see the same willow as in *Willow by the Aven (277)* of 1888. It is surprising to find that there is a second painting of this motif, dated 1888: *278*. The two works would seem both to have been painted from nature and from almost exactly the same spot.
The conception of space in this landscape is very disconcerting; it seems to contain a double point of view, at once bird's-eye and eye-level. The surface of the Aven is, in reality, perpendicular to the trees behind which it here rises like the sky. The bird's eye view and lack of horizon prefigure the experiments of 1888, and one wonders if this work was not painted in 1888 and later erroneously dated to 1886.
But the technique and signature are perfectly compatible with 1886, and the presence, on the right of two figures borrowed from *Bathing Place (221)*, the only signs of life in this landscape, speak for a date in 1886; in 1888, Gauguin did not have *221* with him. The spatial effect *is* very surprising; but we know from *Woman and Child (222)* that Gauguin was experimenting with spatial effects that year. As to the pattern of the tree trunks, Gauguin was not alone in taking up this Cézannesque effect; see *Road (125)* and *Two Women Bathing (241)*, inset.
In the absence of any sure proof of a later date, we have catalogued the work as dated by the signature.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 198 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Said to have been exhibited at Leicester Galleries, London, in 1912.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Cincinnati Art Museum, 1971, no. 11.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 26.

Provenance:
Sale, Paris, Drouot, 2 December 1902, no. 62 (*Bathing Place* – signed left-hand side and dated 86).
Vollard.
Mme de Galea, Paris.
Mrs Gustave Berne, Great Neck (Long Island, New York).
Mr G. Berne sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, 14 April 1965, no. 52.
Mr and Mrs Hugo N. Dixon, Memphis (Tennessee), 1966.
Bequeathed by the Dixons to:
Memphis (Tennessee), The Dixon Gallery And Gardens, Bequest of Mr and Mrs Hugo Dixon – 1975.30.

224

224
Washerwomen at Simonou Mill

Canvas. 0.71 × 0.90
Signed and dated lower left:
P Gauguin 86
W196

The last mill on the Aven, built at the foot of Mount Saint-Guénolé very close to the port (the sail on the extreme right is explained by this proximity), is the ancient My-Teur or Saint-Guénolé mill. It belonged to the Simonou family; its owner in 1980, Mme Henry, informs us that it then comprised mill and house (visible in the centre) and stable and barn (to the left). The layout of the place has been much changed by subsequent additions, but an 1890 postcard found by Le Paul (**D**) shows the site almost exactly as it appears here.
Gauguin's 1884-1886 sketchbook[1] contains figures of washerwomen similar but not identical to the ones in this painting, figures undoubtedly sketched during the same stay in Pont-Aven. De Couëssin (**D**) has published an X-ray of the work showing the blank areas bordering the forms of the composition; he believes that this technique, which Gauguin frequently employed, helps to maintain the illusion of a three-dimensional space.

[1] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald, 1962), pp. 17, 18, 32.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 196 (repr.).
C.-G. Le Paul: *L'Impressionnisme dans l'École de Pont-Aven*, Lausanne and Paris, 1983, pp. 49-51 (repr., along with old postcards of the motif).
B. Quéinec: *Pont-Aven 1800-1914*, [Pont-Aven,] 1983, pp. 203-204 (on the site and its transformations).
C. de Couëssin: 'Le Synthétisme de Paul Gauguin', *Actes du colloque Gauguin* [...] *1989*, Paris, 1991, p. 92, fig. 9 (repr. of an X-ray of the work).

Exhibitions:
Tableaux de collections parisiennes, Paris, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1955, no. 53 (*Washerwomen in Brittany*, 0.73 × 0.92).
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 22.
Autour de Gauguin à Pont-Aven, Marcq-en-Barœul, Fondation Septentrion, 1985, no. 27.
Gauguin and the Painters of Britanny, Japan, 1992, no. 19.

Ty-Meur mill, postcard, c. 1890
(from Le Paul, 1983).

Gauguin y la escuela de Pont-Aven, Mexico, Museo del Palacio de Bellas Artes, 1995-1996, no. 54.

Provenance:
Private collection, Paris, c. 1955 (see **E** above).
Sale, Paris, Charpentier, 3 December 1957, no. 108.
Bouchara, Paris.
Acquired by the Musée du Louvre in 1965; exhibited in the Galeries du Jeu de Paume; transferred to the Musée d'Orsay in 1986.
Paris, Musée d'Orsay – RF 1965.17.

225
Lollichon Field and Pont-Aven Church

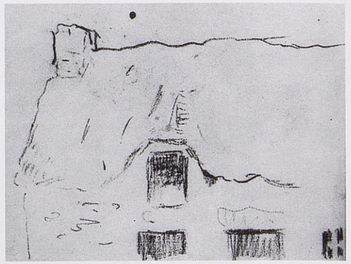
Canvas. 0.73 × 0.92
Signed and dated lower right:
P Gauguin 86
W199

A few minutes walk separated the Pension Gloanec from this field north of the village, between today's rue Émile Bernard and rue Job Philippe, on sloping land long known to the locals as 'Lollichon mount'. The Lollichons were a family of millers into whose hands the land came around the time of the French Revolution. (The title 'Derout-Lollichon field' only appeared in the literature in 1956[1] and should not be maintained; the land came into the Le Derout family only in recent times.) The Lollichons owned not just this field of apple trees, with its share-croppers' farmstead, but the land bordering it beyond the field of vision here, to the right, on which they had just had a presbytery built (see *228*).
The sharecroppers' cottages are seen against the background of Mount Saint-Guénolé, which lies to the south of Pont-Aven; alongside the houses, the lean-tos shelter animals, hay and apples. Between cottages and mount there lies, invisible in the hollow, the village of Pont-Aven, dominated by the 'Gothic' spire built in 1875. Today, the solitary vestige of the sharecroppers' cottages is a few stretches of wall; they are even more dilapidated now than in the photo from the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* reproduced[2].

Gauguin made use of the outline of these buildings during the following winter in a ceramic piece (Gray 17). And a slightly more frontal sketch of the left-hand cottage can be found in Gauguin's sketchbook for 1884-1888[3]. Rural but not isolated, this site supplied Gauguin with material for three or four paintings in 1886 – this one, *226*, *227*, and perhaps *Presbytery (228)* – along with two more in 1888 (*Haymaking, 287* and *Round Dance, 296*).

[1] 'Gauguin en Bretagne', *GBA*, 1956/1958 (**D**).
[2] 'Gauguin en Bretagne', *GBA*, 1956/1958 (**D**).
[3] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald, 1962), p. 31.

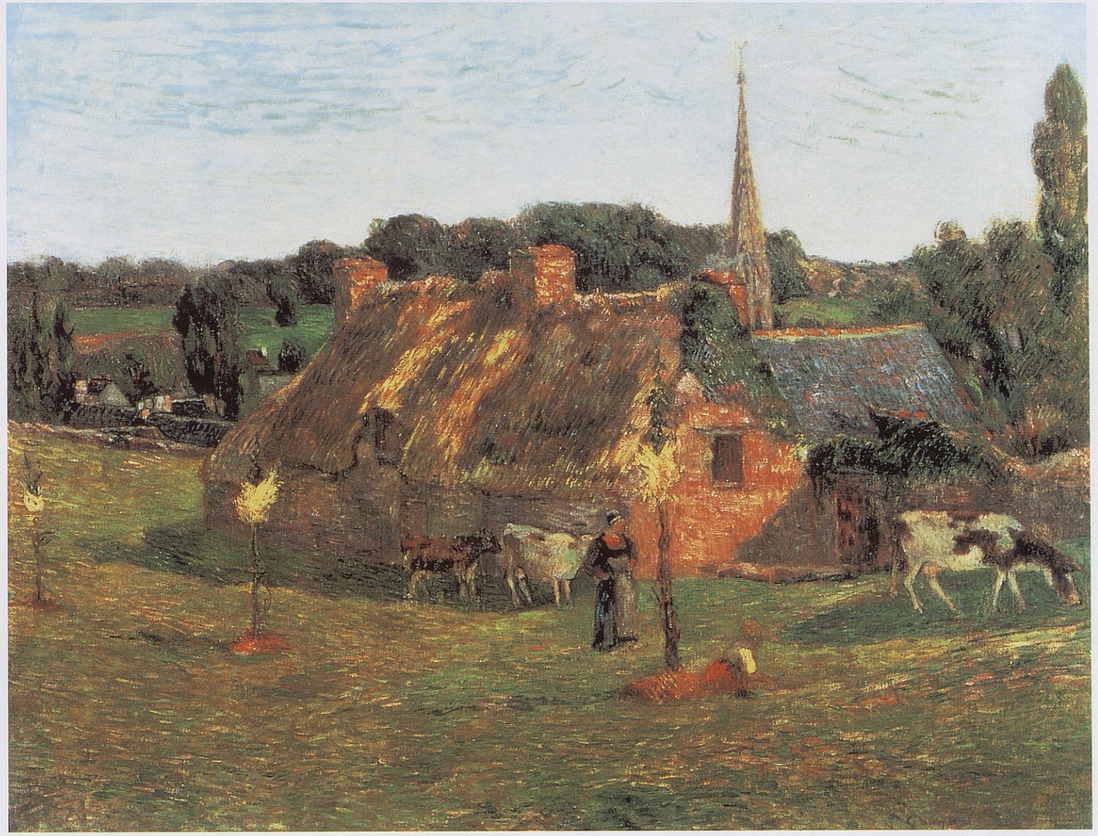
Documents and bibliography:
(?) Gauguin to Mette, 6 December 1887 (Merlhès 137): 'In the list of objects that you have taken back [Mette had just sent him a list of the works that she had taken from Paris to Denmark after her brief Paris stay of spring 1887], I don't understand what you mean by green trees is it quite a big canvas with the village in the background lit up by the sun and a little cow on the right?' Gauguin added a small and rather indistinct sketch in ink, which corresponds to no known painting. Since both description and sketch were made from memory, they perhaps refer to this painting, in which there is, at least, a little cow on the right. They may, however, refer to the mysterious *Presbytery*, which has disappeared; the sketch is reproduced opposite that work; see *228*.
Gauguin to Theo Van Gogh, c. 5-8 June 1888 (Merlhès 149): 'Some time ago I received a letter from a stock-market creditor Myrtil to whom I owe 300 f admittedly on constraint. I told him that I had no money for the time being but that if he wanted a picture he could get in touch with you'.
Gauguin to Theo Van Gogh, c. 15-18 June 1888 (Merlhès 151): 'I was very glad to receive your letter with a mandate for 39.f, 60. This is a good solution for a creditor who was bothering me and besides he's a stockbroker who's no saint but who has a lot of bad paintings for which he paid a lot more than mine. At all events my painting will be seen and I think the frame deal's a brilliant idea'.
Gauguin to Theo Van Gogh, 27 October 1888 (Merlhès 175): 'Myrtil took a painting of mine in payment for 300f that I owed him has he given you my receipt or a receipt "as paid"'.
Gauguin's sketchbook c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 224: '[sold to] Myrtil Church of Pont-Aven [FF] 300'.
Maître Marcel Mirtil to R. Cogniat, 13 October 1955: 'My father knew Gauguin well. In the milieu of the bank he was Gauguin's only friend because the painter's eccentricities had alienated everyone./ At one point, when Gauguin was earning lots of money, he was full of pride. He came



Cottage, sketch, detail of a page of a Gauguin sketchbook. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

to the stockmarket in an open carriage which would wait for him till the market closed. This was not common practice among bank clerks! Subsequently he began speculating on his own account and lost money. This was the situation when he was forced to leave Finance./ He asked my father to lend him a few hundred francs. My father paid up and asked him what he wanted it for. Gauguin said that this money would allow him to go to Brittany, where he would spend his time painting. My father was astonished; in the bank milieu no one knew about Gauguin's tastes./ A year later, Gauguin, dressed like a fisherman, came to my father's office and brought him, in payment of his debt, the painting of which you have a photo./ Some time afterwards, he asked my father to sell some lottery tickets for which the prize was a painting. When people heard that Gauguin was involved, no one wanted any. But my father gave Gauguin a certain sum, pretending to have sold some of the tickets. This was to spare his very delicate vanity. After that, he lost sight of Gauguin'. We have transcribed this very interesting letter almost entire, despite certain inaccuracies mentioned below – see **P**.
'Gauguin en Bretagne', *GBA*, special Gauguin number, January-April 1956 (published 1958), pp. 83-86 (repr.), identifies the site and reproduces the photograph of it.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 199 (repr.).
C.-G. Le Paul: *L'Impressionnisme dans l'École de Pont-Aven*, Lausanne and Paris, 1983, pp. 94 (repr.), 95 (more recent photo of the motif).

Exhibitions:
Gauguin et ses amis, Paris, André Weil, 1951, no. 13.
Gauguin og hans Venner, Copenhagen, Winkel & Magnussen, 1956, no. 63.
Painters at Pont-Aven, Chicago (Illinois), Main Street Galleries, 1962, no. 11.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Cincinnati Art Museum, 1971, no. 12.
Vincent Van Gogh and the Birth of Cloisonism, Toronto (Ontario), Art Gallery of Ontario, and Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Vincent Van Gogh, 1981, no. 44.
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art, and Aichi, Prefectural Art Museum, 1987, no. 18.



225

Gauguin and the School of Pont-Aven, London, Royal Academy of Arts, and Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, 1989-1990, no. G supp. 1.
Gauguin and the School of Pont-Aven, United States, 1994-1995, no. 3.
Gauguin and the School of Pont-Aven, Künzelsau, Museum Würth, 1997, no. 3.
Martigny, Fondation P. Gianadda, 1998, no. 27.

The motif in 1956. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

Provenance:
This painting was on deposit for sale at Boussod et Valadon in June 1888, see Gauguin's letters, **D** above, and Gauguin must have entrusted it to Theo Van Gogh before leaving Paris, in February. Chosen at Boussod's by the banker Eugène Mirtil (the residential directory gives his address as 5 rue de Châteaudun) during the first fortnight of June 1888 (see Gauguin's letters, **D** above) in payment of a debt incurred by Gauguin shortly before he left for Brittany (see Marcel Mirtil's 1955 letter, **D** above). This must be the 1886 trip, which Gauguin apparently thought of funding via a lottery; the custom was for an artist's work to be made the prize for a lottery if sufficient subscribers could be found. This enterprise, mentioned by Gauguin in a letter to Carey prior to August 1886 (Merlhès 98) is mistakenly placed in 1887 by Marcel Mirtil. V. Merlhès (*La Correspondance de Paul Gauguin*, Paris, 1984, p. 426, note 195) supposes that insufficient subscribers were found for the lottery to take place, and the tickets generously acquired by Mirtil were converted into a loan, thus allowing Gauguin to depart for Brittany.
Marcel Mirtil, Paris.
Arnold Sontag, Lausanne.
Private collection, New Jersey, 1959.
Private collection, Ohio, 1962-1975.
Sale, New York, Christie's, 19 May 1978, no. 18 (bought in).
Samuel Josefowitz, Lausanne, Switzerland, c. 1981.
Private collection.

226

226
Lollichon Field

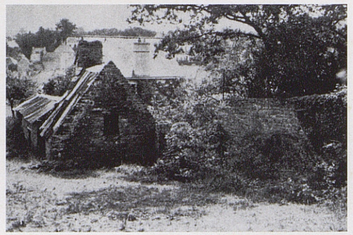
Canvas. 0.72 × 0.92
Signed and dated lower right:
P. Gauguin 86
W200

Like *225*, this painting shows the share-croppers' farmstead in the Lollichon field; a photo of the motif appeared in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1956 (**D**).
The figure lying flat on the soil is rather unusual in Gauguin's work of this time; it is distantly reminiscent of a little figure who appears in a fan (*W116*) of several years before. This, in turn, had its antecedent in a figure from Cézanne's *Harvest* (Venturi 249).

A patchwork of techniques ■ This rather experimental work is a veritable catalogue of strokework. We find, side by side, the finely 'interwoven' brushstrokes deriving from Gauguin's Neo-Impressionist episode; abrupt contrasts of surface treatment, in the manner of Cézanne; a clear and surprising outline defining the thatch-roof; a strange curtain of foliage, similar to that in *Watering Place I (194)*; and, on the right, a clump of plant-life, whose spiral treatment brings to mind certain parts of *Calf and Cow, Riverbank (209)*. Other examples of these volutes, looking increasingly scratch-like, appear in *Farm (231)* and *Upstream of Pont-Aven (232)*. Such 'zoning' of treatment makes a further appearance in *Breton Women Chatting (237)*, and returns in Gauguin's Synthetist phase in more stylised form, within Cloisonnist outlines; see, for example, *Cow on the Porsac'h Cliffs (310)*.

Documents and bibliography:
'Gauguin en Bretagne', *GBA*, Gauguin special number, January-April 1956 (published 1958), pp. 83-85 (repr., with photo of the motif).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 200 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
(?) *Salon d'automne*, Paris, Grand Palais, 1906, no. 184 (*Breton Landscape*, De Monfreid collection) – though this might equally refer to *Gate* (*W353*) of 1889.
(?) Paris, Galerie Dru, 1923, no. 8 (*Brittany Landscape*, D. de Monfreid collection – though this might equally refer to *Gate* (W353).
Paris, Galerie Le Portique, 1931, no. 32.
Paris, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1936, no. 11.
G.-D. de Monfreid et son ami Gauguin, Paris, Charpentier, 1938, no. 150.
Collection G.-D. de Montfreid, Paris, Musée national d'Art moderne, 1951, no. 1.



The motif in 1956. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

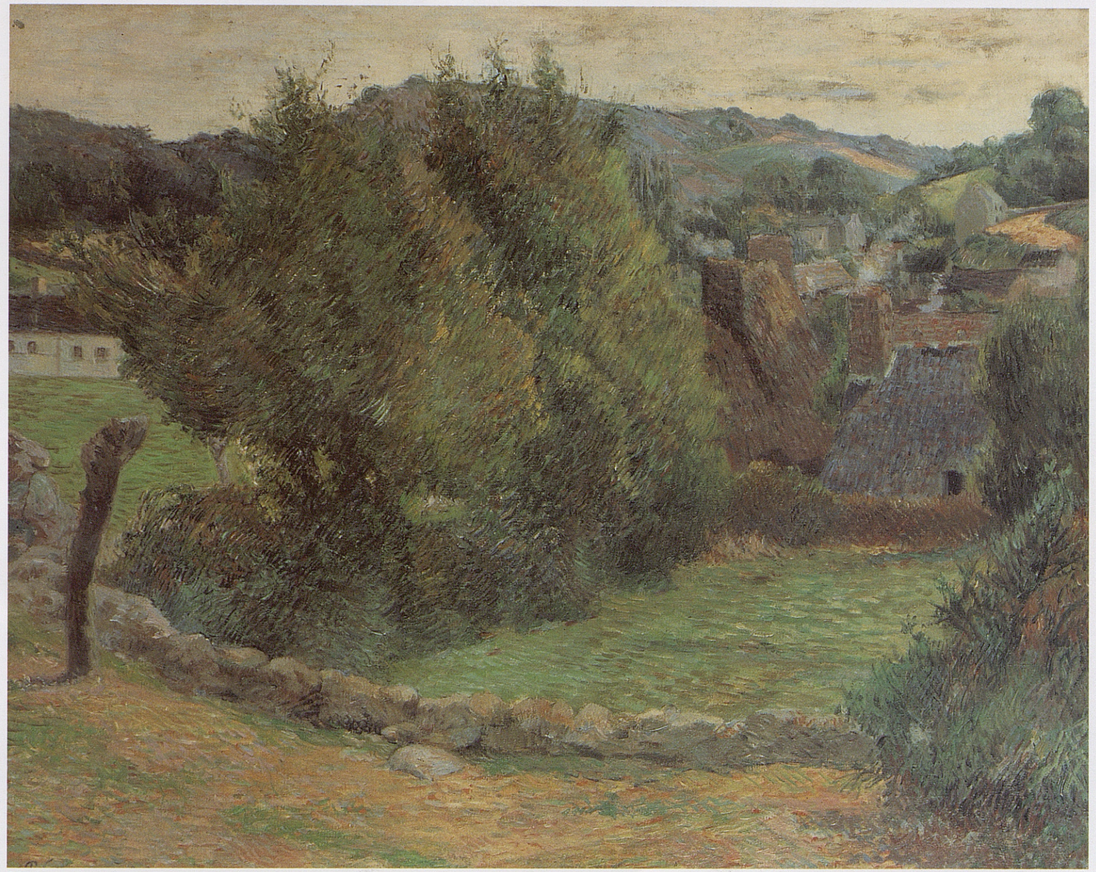
Detail of fan *W116*. Private collection.
Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

Provenance:
Georges-Daniel de Monfreid, Béziers.
Mme D. de Monfreid, Béziers, c. 1931.
Mme L. Huc de Monfreid, Béziers, c. 1936.
Hal B. Wallis, Los Angeles, 1958;
bequeathed in 1986 to:
Los Angeles (California), Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Bequest of Mr Hal B. Wallis – M 86.276.

227
Mount Sainte-Marguerite from near the Presbytery

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.73
Signed and dated lower left:
P Gauguin 86
W195

On the right, we see the familiar thatch and slate roofs of the sharecroppers' cottages in Lollichon field, which appear in *225* and *226*. In the centre, the ridge of Mount Sainte-Marguerite, blue in the distance, dominates the view; it is framed on the left by the bois d'Amour and on the right by



227

Mount Saint-Guénolé, on whose flank the Quimperlé road winds out of sight. Gauguin thus set up his easel a little above and to the west of the cottages, though still on Lollichon family land (see *Field, 225*). He was in fact very close to where the Lollichons had just built a presbytery, on a patch of land adjacent to the field, which had originally formed part of the same group of properties. His easel may have been either inside the garden of the presbytery, or on land adjoining it, outside the little wall that now borders the garden. This is a point of no importance in itself, but it may have some bearing on the identification of the mysterious canvas variously entitled *Presbytery* or *At the Presbytery*, and which was exhibited a number of times in 1889; the present work is the only known painting that might fit the title *At the Presbytery*.
But there are reasons for refusing the identification. This is a rather small work for exhibition, and was probably sold to Dupuis in 1888. Morever, the '*At the*' component of the title '*Presbytery*' was several times omitted. It seems most likely then, that *Presbytery* is a separate work, now unknown, and it has consequently been awarded its own place in the catalogue as *228*.

Documents and bibliography:

(?) Boussod et Valadon registers (J. Rewald, *GBA*, 1973, p. 91): 'View of Pont-Aven, 60 × 73, [bought from] the artist 17 November 1888, [FF] 300, [sold to] Dupuis 13 November 1888 [FF] 500'. The fact that the date of sale precedes that of purchase tell us that the work was on deposit for sale.
(?) Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 225: '[sold to] Dupuis View of Pont-Aven [FF] 350'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 195 (repr.).
(?) J. Rewald: 'Theo Van Gogh, Goupil and the Impressionists', *GBA*, January-February 1973, pp. 33, 74-75, 91 (*View of Pont Aven* bought by Dupuis).

Exhibitions:

(?) Paris, Boussod et Valadon, November 1888: if this is indeed the *View of Pont-Aven* sold to Dupuis on 13 November 1888, it appeared in the one-man show of works by Gauguin organised by that gallery in November (no catalogue).
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 23.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 26.
Gauguin and the Pont-Aven Group, London, Tate Gallery, 1966, no. 3a.
Gauguin et le groupe de Pont-Aven, Zurich, Kunsthaus, 1966, no. 5.

Provenance:

This may be the *View of Pont-Aven* (0.60 × 0.73) on deposit with Boussod et Valadon, which was sold to Dupuis on 13 November 1888 (see Boussod et Valadon registers, **D** above); among the painting of those dimensions, this is the one that best fits that title. Dupuis committed suicide in December 1890 and his Gauguins immediately reappeared on the Parisian art market: cf. *Bathing Place (221)*, **P.**
Said to have belonged to Druet, Paris, at some point.
Graphisches Kunstkabinett (W. Werner), Bremen.
Hugo Perls, Berlin.
Galerie Commeter, Hamburg.
Mrs L. Baron-Pappier, Amsterdam.
Walter Floersheimer, Orselina, Switzerland, c. 1966.
Private collection, Switzerland.

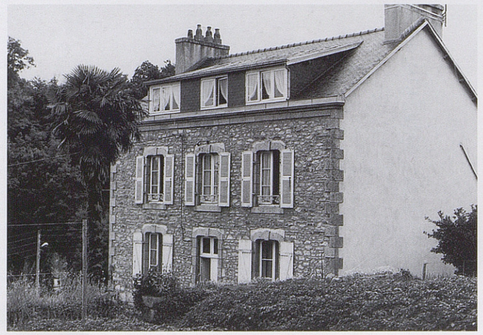
228
At the Pont-Aven Presbytery

Canvas.
W204

Work known only through documentary evidence.
The main thing known about this enigmatic work, which was three times exhibited in 1889, is that it dates from Gauguin's 1886 Breton campaign[1]. There is, moreover, every reason to think that it was at least a no. 30 canvas (0.73 × 0.92), since, like other canvases of this size, it is priced at FF 500 in two lists: the definitive list of works despatched to the exhibition of Les XX[2], and the price list that Gauguin sent to Maus[3]. True, this work was not of the same year as the others; but, given that more recent works were priced higher, if this work had been smaller *and* older, it would surely have been priced substantially lower. On the contrary, there is some reason to think it might have been bigger since the very first list made in preparation for the Les XX exhibition includes a no. 50 canvas of Brittany[4]. Other identifications can be proposed for this no. 50 (see Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890, **D**), but none are definitive, and *Presbytery* is not ruled out.

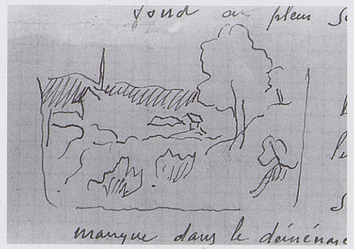
As to the presbytery itself, it still stands at 12 rue Job- Philippe, almost at the corner of rue des Abbés-Tanguy, and only the roof has been slightly altered. Set in a garden enclosed by a little wall that separates it from the sharecroppers' field so often painted by Gauguin (see *Lollichon Field, 225*), it had been built for the parish shortly before by Yves Lollichon. Lollichon had thus requited the municipal council's decision of 1868, which refused him the honour of building a new church there[5]. And so, on 10 September 1883, this solid 'bourgeois house with toilet and walled grounds' (thus the lease) was handed over to the rector by the miller and his relative, Corentine (widow Carer), on an eighteen-year lease, for the annual sum of FF 600.

We do not know the exact subject of the painting. It would be surprising if Gauguin



The presbytery in recent times.

Landscape, sketch. Detail of a page of a Gauguin sketchbook. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.



View of Pont-Aven, sketch from Gauguin's letter to Mette of 6 December 1887 (Merlhès 137).
Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

had chosen the presbytery itself, a modern, bourgeois building, for his subject. Its immediate surroundings would form a less surprising subject, since the presbytery stands on the side of 'Mount Lollichon', with a view of church and town lying nestled among the hills. Should we identify *Presbytery* with the *View of Pont-Aven in the Sunlight* of which Gauguin made a rough sketch in an 1887 letter to Mette[6]? More significant, perhaps, is the drawing of a landscape in Gauguin's sketchbook of 1884-1886[7] – surely made in preparation for a painting – at the centre of which is a sketch of a building not unlike 12 rue Job-Philippe.
A contributing factor to the mystery is the variety of titles given to this work. The one under which it was exhibited at Les XX – *At the Presbytery* – permits a broad interpretation of the subject, but at the Volpini exhibition and the 1891 sale, the title is simple *Presbytery*. Only one known painting could reasonably have borne the title *At the Presbytery*: *227*, which was painted in the presbytery's immediate vicinity, but is too small for the identification to be very probable. The only certainty, then, is that the presbytery itself does not appear in any of the known paintings.

[1] Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, spring 1889 (Malingue LXXVII, **D**).
[2] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952, **D**).
[3] See list sent to Maus in late 1888 (**D**).
[4] See Huyghe, 1952 (**D**).
[5] B. Quéinec: *Pont-Aven, 1800-1914*, [Pont-Aven] 1983, pp. 67-69.
[6] Gauguin to Mette, 6 December 1887 (Merlhès 137, **D**).
[7] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald, 1962), p. 22.

Documents and bibliography:

(?) Gauguin to Mette, 6 December 1887 (Merlhès 137): 'In the list of objects that you have taken [Mette had just sent him a list of the works that she had taken back to Denmark after her brief stay in Paris in spring 1887], I don't understand what you mean by green trees is it quite a big canvas with the village in the background lit up by the sun and a little cow on the right?' Gauguin appended a small and rather indistinct sketch in ink, which corresponds to no known painting, and might be the mysterious *Presbytery*, though it is possible that sketch and description, both made from memory, refer to *Lollichon Field (225)*.
Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952); this work is perhaps cited at p. 72 in a preparatory list of the works that Gauguin intended sending to the exhibition of Les XX. It might be either '[no.] 50 [canvas] Brittany', though this could equally refer to landscapes *229* and *231* and *Winter (265)*, or 'Landscape church'. At all events, it appears in the definitive list prepared for that exhibition (p. 73) as '[no.] 10 at the presbytery (87) [FF] 500'. Since Gauguin did not stay in Pont-Aven in 1887, the date must be an error.
List of the definitive asking prices for works to be exhibited at Les XX, sent by Gauguin to Octave Maus in late 1888 (archives de l'Art contemporain, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels): '[no.] 10 [FF] 500'.
O. Maus, review of the exhibition of Les XX, *La Cravache*, 2 March 1889, p. 1: 'The most attractive? *Breton Landscape; Breton and Calf; Shepherd and Shepherdess; At the Presbytery*. The public found these incomprehensible, which is a guarantee [of their worth]. All were praised by Degas'.
Luc le Flâneur [probably G.-A. Aurier]: 'En quête de choses d'art', *Le Moderniste illustré*, 13 April 1889, p. 14: 'at Van Gog's* place, the Boussod et Valadon gallery, 19 boulevard Montmartre […] wonderful pictures by that great poet, Gauguin; amongst others […] a deliciously melancholic *Presbytery*'.
Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, spring 1889 (Malingue LXXVII), in which Gauguin gives the list of works which he wants hung at the Volpini exhibition: among them, '5. Presbytery (1886 landscape)'.
J. Huret: 'Paul Gauguin devant ses tableaux', *L'Écho de Paris*, 23 February 1891, p. 2: 'The Paul Gauguin Exhibition takes place today, Sunday, at the Hôtel Drouot and […] the sale is for tomorrow'. After giving a list of the works for sale, Huret goes on to speak of the 'Goupil gallery, where, in the afternoon of the day before yesterday, crowds formed around these thirty paintings'.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 204 (repr.).

Exhibitions:

6e exposition des XX, Brussels, Musée royal de Peinture, February 1889, no. 10 (*At the Presbytery*). Presentation of works by Gauguin, Degas, Pissarro, Forain…, Paris, Boussod et Valadon, early April 1889 (see review by Luc le Flâneur, **D** above).
Peintures du groupe impressionniste et synthétiste, Paris, Exposition universelle, Volpini premises on the Champ-de-Mars, summer 1889, no. 35 (*Pont-Aven Presbytery*).
Presented at Boussod's gallery until 21 February 1891, then at the Hôtel Drouot on Sunday 22 before the Gauguin sale of 23 February; Huret's review (**D** above) shows that, for the discerning, these two events were considered equivalent to exhibitions.

Provenance:

On deposit with Boussod et Valadon, c. April 1889 (see review by Luc le Flâneur, **D** above).
Gauguin sale, Paris, Drouot, 23 February 1891, no. 7 in the auction-book, no. 8 in the catalogue: *Presbytery*, (FF) 260 to Monsieur de Billioux, 2 rue A.-Stephens [*sic*, for de Bellio, rue A.-Stevens]. Though he had owned a flower painting since 1881 (see *61* for a photo of him), Georges de Bellio remained relatively 'reticent about Gauguin', as Camille Pissarro put it in a letter to Lucien (13 May 1891, Bailly-Herzberg 661) until 1890-1891, when he made an effort to diversify his collection. He then sold some works in order to buy others; among the latter, two Gauguins from the 1891 sale, *Presbytery* and *Martinican Scene (244)*. His change of opinion was short-lived, since in 1893 he condemned the paintings exhibited by Gauguin at Durand-Ruel's gallery as 'absolutely awful and senseless' (letter from Camille Pissarro to his son Lucien, 27 November 1893, Bailly-Herzberg 963). We do not whether he parted with some of his Gauguins before his death in 1894, or whether his son-in-law Donop de Monchy took it upon himself to sell the collection in its entirety, but the painting presumably reappeared on the Parisian art market towards the end of the 19th century.
Disappeared.

229

229
Landscape with Swine

Canvas. 0.73 × 1.10
Signed and dated lower right:
P Gauguin 85 / P Gauguin 86

Little Breton boy, sketch from a Gauguin sketchbook. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

This work is known to us only through a photograph in the collections of the Brussels Musées royaux. It is highly exceptional in bearing two signatures accompanied by different dates. Since it seems to belong stylistically to 1886, one wonders whether it was begun near Dieppe during the summer of 1885, and reworked the following year. But this seems unlikely; the patchwork of the bocage seems much closer-knit than that of the Dieppe region. Fénéon, precise by nature and presumably well-informed, calls it a 'Breton landscape' (**D**), no doubt partly because Boussod exhibited it under this title. Moreover, the remarkable similarity of style and format between this painting and *231* makes them something of a pair and suggests that they both derive from the 1886 Pont-Aven campaign. ('Pairs' of this kind are few and far between in Gauguin's corpus; see *Watering Place, 203*). So there is no obvious explanation for the 1885 date inscribed on the canvas.

Pig, sketch. Detail of a page from a Gauguin sketchbook. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

Greater elaboration ■ Gauguin included in this landscape figures and animals sketched in Pont-Aven during the summer of 1886. The little boy is several times drawn in Gauguin's 1884-1886 sketchbook[1], and is here borrowed from page 38. The animal on the left derives from a sketch on page 33, while on page 48 there is the outline of a pig similar to that on the right. A group of three pigs very like the one here reappears in the *Swineherd* (*W354*) of 1889, and it is possible that Gauguin used a drawing now unknown for both paintings.
The method of introducing figures and animals previously drawn from life (and whose forms sometimes recur in later paintings) first came into systematic use that year; see *Breton Shepherdess (233)*, insets.
Gauguin's desire for more elaborate compositions also explains the choice of a format slightly larger than average for three Breton landscapes – this one, *231* and the seascape *234*. It may also give some clue to the relatively unnatural feel of this landscape, which does not give the impression of having been drawn entirely from life.

[1] Gauguin's sketchbook c. 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald, 1962).

Documents and bibliography:
F. Fénéon: 'Calendrier de décembre – V. Vitrines des marchands de tableaux', *La Revue indépendante*, January 1888, p. 170: 'Monsieur Paul Gauguin, whose style has grown neither lighter nor brighter, but is acquiring a virile linear eloquence, shows an ample Breton landscape. His customary virtues as a sculptor come to the fore in his moulding of its uberous forms; the canvas, like certain Corots, bears a double signature and two dates (1885, 1886)'.
(?) Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 72 in a preparatory list of the works Gauguin wanted to send to the Les XX exhibition; '[no.] 50 [canvas] Brittany', cf. *Presbytery, 228*, **D**.
Very probably: handwritten list of works on deposit with Boussod et Valadon, drawn up in 1890, probably towards November when Joyant took over the business abandoned by Theo Van Gogh (J. Rewald: 'Theo Van Gogh, Goupil and the Impressionists', *GBA*, January-February 1973, p. 49): among the no. 50 canvases there is a '*Landscape with Pigs on the Road*' [priced FF] 500, which must be this work.

Exhibitions:
Presentation of works by Gauguin, Guillaumin and Pissarro, Paris, Boussod et Valadon (upper galleries), December 1887 (see Fénéon's review, **D** above).
Maîtres de l'impressionnisme, Brussels, Musée royal des Beaux-Arts, 1922, no. 17.

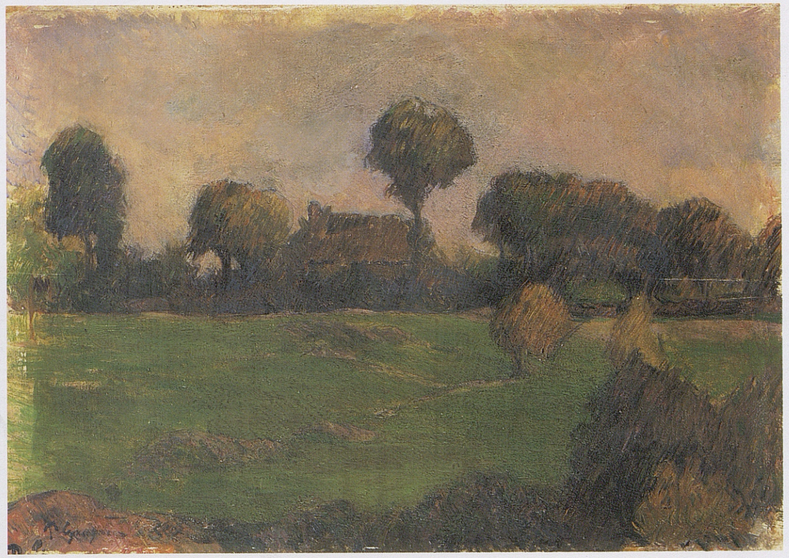
Provenance:
On deposit with Boussod et Valadon, c. December 1887 and very probably still there in 1890 (see list, **D** above).
Mme Blondel, Brussels, c. 1922.
A file-card filled in around 1945 in the Brussels museum states that this work belonged to Paul Fierens; the latter's son states that this work never formed part of his father's collection.
Current whereabouts unknown.

230
Farm in Brittany I

Oil on wood. 0.215 × 0.300
Signed lower left: *P Gauguin / P G*

Gauguin perhaps found this motif toward Lezaven. He reworked this little study in a larger repeat, *231*. On the reverse of the panel one can make out an almost obliterated pencil sketch for the wood carving *Toilette* (Gray 7).

Provenance:
Vivaldi, France.
Private collection.



230

231

231
Farm in Brittany II

Canvas. 0.73 × 1.12
Signed and dated lower left:
P. Gauguin 86
W194

An enlarged repeat of *230*: Gauguin has raised the line of the horizon and increased the size of the foreground. In terms of its composition, it resembles *Landscape with Swine (229)* with which it forms something of a pair. The relatively large dimensions and the refinement of space make it clear that Gauguin wished to paint a more elaborate work based on the little panel painting *230*. Indeed, greater elaboration was increasingly his concern (see *229*). It seems at least possible that he was at some stage planning to introduce small figures into the large empty spaces of the foreground, so as to make a 'composition' of this landscape.

Fénéon's penetrating remark about the moulding of landscape in *229* might equally be made about this painting, which seems, nevertheless, slightly later than *229*; it shows greater *brio*. The experimental treatment of the hedges lies somewhere between *Field* (*226*, q.v.) and *Upstream of Pont-Aven (232)*.

Documents and bibliography:
(?) Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 72, in a preparatory list of the works that Gauguin wanted to send to the Les XX exhibition: '[no.] 50 [canvas] Brittany'; cf. *Presbytery (228)*, D. Wildenstein, 1964, no. 194 (repr.).

Exhibitions:
Opening of the Gillespie Gallery, Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania), 1933.
Collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., Richmond (Virginia), Virginia Museum of Art, and Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1941, no. 55.
Paris, Charpentier, 1960, no. 24.
Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1960, no. 27.
Vienna, Belvedere, 1960, no. 6.

Provenance:
Heinemann, Munich.
Sale, Dr D.B. Saklatawalla *et al.*, New York, Rains, 6 April 1934, no. 66.
Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., New York, c. 1941.
Georges Bernheim, 1941.
Mr and Mrs Walter Ross, New York, c. 1957.
Sale, London, Sotheby's, 30 March 1977, no. 28.
Sale, London, Christie's, 28 November 1988, no. 18.

232
Upstream of Pont-Aven

Canvas. 0.60 × 0.73
Signed lower left: *P Gauguin*
W192

This work is known to us only through a photograph. Two years later, Gauguin frequently returned to paint in this vicinity: cf. *268*, *269*, *270* and *275*. The volumetric hatching of the scrub bordering the road is similar to that in *Farm (231)*, and suggests that this undated work belongs to Gauguin's 1886 stay in Pont-Aven. The cow cut off by the framing of the work is an effect found not only in *Calf and Cow, Riverbank* (*209*, q.v.) – painted, like the present work, in 1886 – but in several works of 1888.

Documents and bibliography:
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 192 (repr.).

Provenance:
Bought from Montaignac by Bernheim-Jeune, 2 October 1906 (no. 15125).
Bought from Druet by Nat Leeb, Berlin, in 1923.
Seized in 1933 by the Nazi authorities.
Disappeared.

232

233

233
Breton Shepherdess

Canvas. 0.605 × 0.735
Signed and dated lower left:
P Gauguin 86
W203

The leaves have turned, so this landscape must be from the end of Gauguin's stay in Brittany; he returned to Paris in mid-October. It was painted on the flank of Mount Saint-Guénolé: Pont-Aven is invisible below, between the houses, centre-left, and the slopes of the bois d'Amour in the background.

Recumbent sheep, sketch. Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 101. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

Sheep, sketch. Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 103. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

Standing ram, sketch. Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 102, detail. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

Peasant, sketch. Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 110. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

The atmosphere of this work remains Impressionist, though its space is carved out in very personal fashion. Into this setting Gauguin introduced figures and animals that he had sketched from life in Brittany. Thus in the 1884-1886[1] sketchbook we find several little drawings used in this work: the sheep lying down on the left; the ram in the foreground; the standing and the lying sheep in the background; the head of the cow on the right; and the figure of the peasant on the left.

Head of a cow, sketch. Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 107, detail. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

Seated women ■ On page 109 of that notebook there is a Breton woman seated on the

Seated Breton woman, sketch. Gauguin's sketchbook, p. 109. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

Compositions: Process and Achievement

Aspiring to construct ■ Work from nature was the foundation of Impressionist practices and gave rise to what the painters called 'studies'. These were more or less thoroughly reworked in the studio, but were distinguished from elaborate compositions by their spontaneity of production. Thus Van Gogh often lamented the paucity of his 'paintings' relative to his many 'studies', and Gauguin made a similar point when noting at the end of his stay in Pont-Aven that he had done 'a lot of studies' over the course of the summer[1].
Gauguin had long had a conscious desire to create more complex compositions. 'An open-air note can be a pretty thing here and there but doesn't by itself constitute a *picture*, and the proof is that you take the trouble to do *pictures*', he told Pissarro in 1881[2]. He came back to the point in 1882: 'I think the time has come (if, that is, you so incline) to do more in the studio, things dwelt on in advance from the point of view of arrangement and scene'[3]. Gauguin's own inclination had principally found expression in composite interior scenes, in 'still lifes' like the *Interiors* of rue Carcel *(76)* and Copenhagen *(164)*, and in the 'portraits' of *Aline (77)* and *Clovis (151)*. This concern with precision and complexity is less evident in Gauguin's outdoor scenes, such as the snow effects *98* of 1893 and *162* of 1885. But, perhaps because he was still working on his technique, Gauguin's production had been largely confined to 'studies', which had flowed in abundance since he had turned professional, during his Rouen, Dieppe, and Pont-Aven campaigns.

In 1886, he was perhaps less absorbed by technical and stylistic explorations. Or perhaps he felt that he done sufficient work on painting from nature. At all events, the desire to paint more carefully meditated works again intensified. The fact that the Pont-Avennois were willing to pose (see introduction to this period) combined, perhaps, with his greater mastery of drawing, enabled him to take the next step. At all events, certain more elaborate landscapes (see *Landscape with Swine, 229*), and above all *Breton Shepherdess*, display a formula he particularly liked, balancing an environment possessed of its own poetry with figures who have ceased to be subordinate to it and have acquired their own value. Gauguin had first seen this formula in the early 1880s, notably in similar works by Pissarro, but had not, at the time, been ready for it.
Winter was obviously a good time to be working in the studio, and during the following winter Gauguin painted mainly compositions. Among these was *Breton Women Chatting (237)*, the first composition with large figures since *Woman Sewing (64)*. It opened the way for every formula between the first – landscape peopled with small, well-defined figures (*Breton Shepherdess)* – and the second *(Breton Women Chatting)*, inhabited by large, monumental figures. The second of these proved to one of the more fertile formulas of the painting of the 20th century.

A methodical visionary ■ It is important to note how profoundly this way of proceeding was engrained in Gauguin's character. It was his nature to go deeply into any question and look beyond the immediate horizon. He certainly seems to have considered his works more as stages in a process than as endpoints. As early as 1882, he wrote, 'I'm not looking for results but for documents that I'm filing away for later'[4]. He distinguished these 'documents for painting'[5] (as he still called them in Tahiti) – 'mere studies or rather documents that are piling up'[6] – from carefully worked-out compositions, which he termed 'pictures' [*tableaux*]. This term, already in use by 1881, reappears in Tahiti, when the only one of his works dignified with the term was the notorious *Ia Orana Maria* (*W428*)[7].
Accumulation of 'documents' for future use became a method of working and indeed a way of life: 'I act very methodically […] the method consists in arranging things so that everything follows from everything else […] if men didn't waste their time in unconnected efforts and labours! Every day a link in the chain', he explained[8].
The category of 'documents' comprises primarily sketches and more elaborate studies in various media, though occasionally it must also have included painted studies of more or less experimental kind. Talking of his 'documents for painting', Gauguin wrote 'I am content to ransack myself and not nature'[9]. Taken by themselves, they are merely fragments, or, at best, steps in a process. When combined with others, they acquired greater weight through their inclusion in a carefully worked composition. Gauguin's use of them became increasingly methodical (see below, inset on 'Building a Vocabulary').

[1] Gauguin to Mette, October 1886 (Merlhès 113).
[2] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, August or September 1881 (Merlhès 17).
[3] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, May-June 1882 (Merlhès 23).
[4] Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, May-June 1882 (Merlhès 23).
[5] Gauguin to De Monfreid, 7 November 1891 (Joly-Segalen II).
[6] Gauguin to De Monfreid, 11 March 1892 (Joly-Segalen III).
[7] Cf. Merlhès 17 and Joly-Segalen II, above.
[8] Gauguin to De Monfreid, 11 March 1892 (Joly-Segalen III).
[9] Gauguin to De Monfried, 7 November 1891 (Joly-Segalen II).

Seated Breton Woman, drawing.
Paris, Musée des Arts africains et océaniens.

ground, a first (rejected) version of the posture seen here. In its place, Gauguin used a large charcoal drawing with watercolour highlights – a much more closely worked sketch for which a young Breton woman posed. Is it a matter of chance that this figure so clearly recalls the *Seated Peasant Woman* painted by Pissarro in 1881 (Pissarro-Venturi 551)? Gauguin's woman is facing the other way, but may nevertheless be a more or less conscious reminiscence of Pissarro's work since Gauguin had assiduously frequented the older master that year. This rustic scene undoubtedly owes much to Pissarro, and through him, of course, to the painters of peasant life of the previous generation such as Millet, many of whose shepherdesses are seen sitting on the ground. As early as 1882, Gauguin had represented a *naïve* young girl thus seated in his wooden sculpture *Toilette* (Gray 7). After the summer of 1886, this position not infrequently recurs in drawings, pots and paintings (see

J.-F. Millet: *Le Puy du Dôme*, drawing, detail. Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania), The Frick Art and Historical Center.

Spring at Lézaven, 279); Gauguin no doubt favoured the 'primitive' simplicity of the posture.

The considered and decisive arrangement of these figures is very different from the rapid life sketches of previous Impressionist scenes such as the earlier rue Carcel *Gauguin's Family (70)*, those of the preceding summer, the Dieppe bathing-scenes or the very recent Pont-Aven *baignades*, and it marks a new stage in Gauguin's process of composition. No sketch is known for the landscape, which was perhaps begun *in situ*, but much of the picture must surely have been painted in the studio. Could it, perhaps, have been finished after Gauguin's return to Paris?

Certain of these figures reappear: in the ceramics (Gray 27, 42, 44, and 45), in a drawing for Gray 44, and in the fan *W202*.

[1] Gauguin's sketchbook, 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald, 1962), pp. 101, 102, 103, 107, 110.

C. Pissarro: *Seated Peasant Woman and Child* (Pissarro-Venturi 551). Private collection.
Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

Building a Vocabulary

Though the distinction is difficult to specify, the little figures in works such as *Bathing Place (221)* differ from the kind incorporated into July's *Breton Shepherdess* in respect of their origin, character, and 'destiny'.

In origin, because the latter kind are not hastily 'snapped' in their setting, as we suppose the figures at the *Bathing Place* were; on the contrary, they are artfully introduced either from large drawings – studies of a kind more often encountered after 1886 – or from one of Gauguin's little sketchbooks. Gauguin always had a sketchbook with him, and together they form veritable libraries of figures and poses; whenever he found himself in a new environment, Gauguin made an abundant harvest of such sketches, sometimes reverting to them many years later (see the introduction to his stay in Martinique, inset on drawings).

Their destiny is distinctive, for certain of these figures reappeared again and again, at different times and in different contexts, in paintings, pots, drawings for pots, fans, engravings and so on; sometimes the source is the original drawing and sometimes one of its developments. No doubt the creation of ceramics and fans was the catalyst for this practice. But the variations played on them became ever more complex, notably when Gauguin began to reverse the originals (see the Martinican painting *Riverside, 252*). The chronology of a motif's various appearances thus becomes extremely difficult to establish.

As to their character, the postures of this second kind of figure are often static and the poses clearly defined – as if to exclude an infinity of possible others; this gives them a very particular presence. But as they are repeated from one work to the next, they acquire an autonomous life, becoming letters in a personal alphabet, the words of a vocabulary laden with secret meanings.

The recurrence of certain figures in 1884 (see introduction to the Rouen period) had prefigured this methodology. Widely used in the Martinican works, the method attained its fullest extent in Gauguin's 'Oceanian' period. Over the course of time, it comes to resemble the development of articulate thought, as the figures constantly recur in constantly renewed variations.

Documents and bibliography:

Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 7 August 1890 (V. Merlhès: *De Bretagne en Polynésie. Paul Gauguin. Pages inédites*, Tahiti, 1995, p. 46): 'Would you be so kind as to send me 100 f to pay the inn here (advance on the Fauché debt)'. [The Fauché debt must have been incurred by the purchase of this painting.]

Gauguin to Émile Schuffenecker, 12 August 1890 (Merlhès 1995, p. 49): 'I asked you if you could send me 100 f as an advance on what Fauché owed me […] I can't really insist with Fauché because I told him there was no hurry'.

Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 222: '[sold to] Fauché Cow and sheep [FF] 150'. Note of the sale comes immediately after an October 1890 transaction, but the notes may well be retrospective and observe no chronological order.

Notebook of G.-D. de Monfreid, dated 21 August 1903 (in J. Loize: *Les Amitiés du peintre Georges-Daniel de Monfreid …*, 1951, p. 50): 'in the afternoon, polished the painting that Fauché is selling to Monsieur Fayet'.

G.-D. de Monfreid: 'Paul Gauguin', *La Revue provinciale*, November 1903, p. 386.

Liste of the Fayet collection drawn up at the château d'Igny in 1910: 'Shepherdess and her sheep [valued at] 8000'.

Wildenstein, 1964, no. 203 (repr.).

M. Bodelsen: *Gauguin's Ceramics*, London, 1964, pp. 36-37 (repr., with the preparatory drawings), 38, 42; see also pp. 10 (reproduces Gray 27), 30-31 (reproduces Gray 44).

V. Jirat-Wasiutynski: *Gauguin in the Context of Symbolism*, (doctoral thesis, University of Princeton, 1975), microfilm version 1993, pp. 108-109, 192-194, 217, 249, 276, 280.

R. Bacou: 'Paul Gauguin et Gustave Fayet', *Actes du colloque Gauguin* […] *1989*, Paris, 1991, p. 25.

V. Jirat-Wasiutynski and T. Newton: 'Tradition and Innovation […]', *Actes du colloque Gauguin* […] *1989*, Paris, 1991, pp. 62, 70, 71 (reproduces a detail).

Exhibitions:

Weimar, Grossherzogliches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe, July-September 1905, no. 1: *Breton Shepherdess with Her Flock* (in P. Kropmanns: *Gauguin und die Schule von Pont-Aven*, Sigmaringen, 1997, pp. 24-27).

Salon d'automne, Paris, Grand Palais, 1906, no. 11.

Gauguin and the Pont-Aven Group, London, Tate Gallery, 1966, no. 3.

Gauguin et le groupe de Pont-Aven, Zurich, Kunsthaus, 1966, no. 4.

Post-Impressionism, London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1979-1980, no. 81.

1886-1986. Cent ans. Gauguin à Pont-Aven, Pont-Aven, Musée de Pont-Aven, 1986, no. 26.

Washington D.C., Chicago and Paris, 1988-1989, no. 17.

Gauguin and the School of Pont-Aven, London, Royal Academy of Arts, and Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, 1989-1990, no. G supp. 2.

Gauguin and the Painters of Brittany, Japan, 1992, no. 20.

Painting in Brittany. Gauguin and his Friends, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Laing Art Gallery, 1992, no. 8.

Provenance:

Sold by Gauguin to the painter Léon Fauché during his stay in Paris between February and June 1890 (see letters to Schuffenecker, 1890, **D** above). Fauché (1868-1960) was twenty years younger than Gauguin. Born in Meurthe-et-Moselle, he studied at the Beaux-Arts de Nancy, and showed five pictures at the Volpini exhibition in 1889. He was on good terms with Gauguin in the early 1890s, and lent him his studio while Gauguin was etching the portrait of Mallarmé. A friend of Anquetin, Bernard, Toulouse-Lautrec, Steinlein, Renoir and Point, Fauché also exhibited at the Indépendants, took part in the organisation of the Salon des Refusés in 1901, and featured in the Salon de la Société nationale from 1906 on. 'Today, Léon Fauché is forgotten; yet his landscapes and his many views of Montmartre were very much his own', say Schurr and Cabane in the *Dictionnaire des petits maîtres de la peinture*, (vol.1, Paris, 1996, p. 419); they also speak of his 'light and well constructed interiors'.

Sold by Fauché to Gustave Fayet in 1903 (see De Monfreid notebook, **D** above).

Sale [Fayet, since the other Gauguin in this sale came from his collection], Paris, Drouot, 16 May 1908, no. 23 (*Shepherdess*, 0.60 × 0.74, signed lower left); the painting was bought in by Fayet and still belonged to him when he died in 1925 (Mme Bacou's testimony is corroborated by the 1910 list of the collection, **D** above, and by the catalogue of an exhibition at the Musée des Arts décoratifs in 1925).

Paul Rosenberg.

Mrs D.M. Fulford, Great Britain.

Bequeathed by her to the National Art Collection Fund, which donated it in 1945 to:

Newcastle-Upon-Tyne (Great Britain), Laing Art Gallery (Tyne and Wear Museums) – C643.

234
Cowherd, Bellangenet Beach

Canvas. 0.75 × 1.12
Signed and dated lower left:
P Gauguin 86
W206

234

The site in recent times. Photo: Francis Joubert.

M. Maufra: *Kelp Piles on Le Pouldu Beach*, 1891. Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

These rock formations are still visible at the eastern end of the Bellangenet beach, two kilometres overland from the port of Le Pouldu. It is a spectacular site, and has no doubt often been painted, once, for example, by Maufra, from very much the same point of view. The Breton woman in the landscape wears the Le Pouldu costume, with apron and the dark *capot* or *coiffe* used for work.

The Le Pouldu region is a much wilder part of Brittany than Pont-Aven, and this painting proves that Gauguin discovered it during his first stay in Brittany. Certainly, the thirty kilometres that separate the two villages could be easily covered by land or sea (though Gauguin would have had to put in at Le Pouldu, Bellangenet cove being unsuited to landings). We know nothing about the circumstances or duration of his stay, nor why the three seascapes that he had time for seem all to have been painted in the same area, a little to the west of the town. The painter Henry Moret was already a Le Pouldu 'regular': did Gauguin perhaps make his acquaintance during the summer of 1886?

Rocks, drawing. Former Joly-Segalen collection. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.

A drawing of these rocks exists; the tide is lower, and the point of view slightly different[1]. Gauguin did not make direct use of it in this painting. The painting may be from nature, whereas it is clear that, here, as in *Breton Shepherdess*, the animals and cowherd have been introduced in order to obtain a better overall composition (see *Shepherdess, 233*, inset). On the other hand, we know of no sketch for the right-hand cow and only a pale sketch – similar but not identical – for the left-hand one[2]. We should, however, note that a similar animal appears a year later in the Martinican painting *River* (*246*, q.v.)

The dimensions of this work match those of the two other large landscapes of this Brittany campaign (*229* and *231*). Combined with its rather monumental composition, which divides into large, clearly-outlined volumes, this underlines Gauguin's aspiration of the time to go beyond mere Impressionist 'studies' and make what he called 'pictures' (see *Shepherdess, 233*, inset).

[1] Joly-Segalen sale, Paris, 12 June 1992, no. 12.
[2] Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1884-1886 (Cogniat-Rewald, 1962), p. 1.

Documents and bibliography:

Luc le Flâneur [probably G.-A. Aurier]: 'En quête de choses d'art', *Le Moderniste illustré*, 18 May 1889, p. 55: 'At Van Gogh['s gallery]: […] a large seascape dated 1886, very romantic in effect and of extraordinary eloquence of line'.
List of works on deposit at Boussod et Valadon, c. 1890, probably drawn up for Joyant in October, when he took over the business abandoned by Theo Van Gogh (J. Rewald: 'Theo Van Gogh, Goupil and the Impressionists', *GBA*, 1973, p. 49): among the 'no. 50 canvases Seascape with little figures [valued FF] 400'.
Mette Gauguin to Johan Rohde, 20 May 1892, suggesting that Rohde exchange this work, which he had seen and admired at her house, for a Rohde painting by which she had been dazzled at the *Frie Udstilling* exhibition of 1892 (in D. Sutton, 1956, below, p. 86, and the catalogue of the 1984 exhibition in Copenhagen, see E below).
C. H. [Hartmann]: 'Den Frie Udstilling', *Nationaltidende*, 28 March 1893, p. 1: 'an elegant and decorative composition [Danish original]'.
C. Sutton: 'Notes on Paul Gauguin apropos a Recent Exhibition', *The Burlington Magazine*, March 1956, pp. 86, 89 (repr.).
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 206 (repr.).
W. Andersen: 'Gauguin's Motifs from Le Pouldu', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, p. 620.
C.-G. Le Paul: *L'Impressionnisme dans l'École de Pont-Aven*, Lausanne and Paris, 1983, pp. 166-167 (repr.), compares this work with one of the same motif by Maufra.

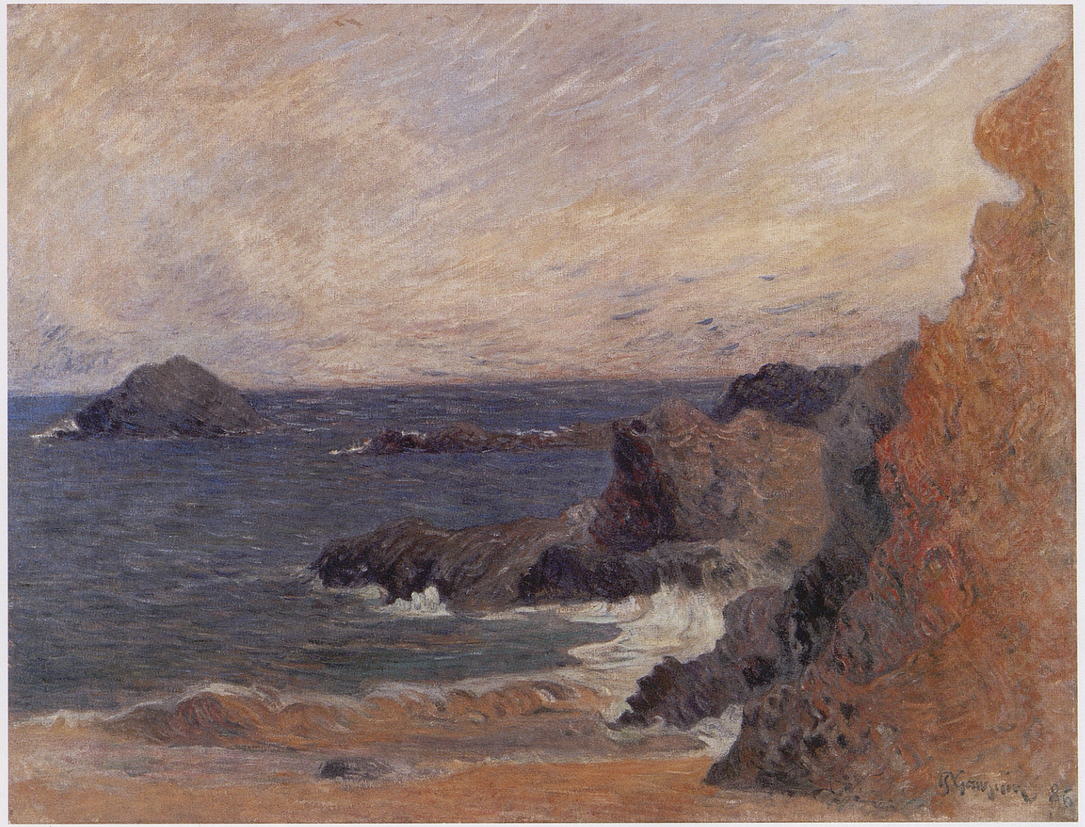
Exhibitions:

Presented at Boussod et Valadon in May 1889, with works by Corot, Degas, Pissarro, Guillaumin and Millet (see review, 1889, **D** above).
Den Frie Udstilling, Copenhagen, Free Exhibitions Building, 1893, no. 140.
Copenhagen, Kleis, 1917, no. 22.
Oslo, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, 1926, no. 36.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1948, no. 30.
Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, and London, Tate Gallery, 1955, no. 15.
Oslo, Kunstnerforbundet, 1955, no. 10.
Gauguin og hans Venner, Copenhagen, Winkel & Magnussen, 1956, no. 66.
Gauguin og Van Gogh i København i 1893, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaard, 1984, no. 23.

Provenance:

On deposit with Boussod et Valadon, c. 1889 (see 1889 review and 1890 list, **D** above).
Mette Gauguin, Copenhagen, c. 1892.
Exchanged by Mette in late May 1892 for a work by the Danish painter Johan Gudman Rohde (1856-1935). See letter from Mette Gauguin (**D** above). Painter, decorator and art critic, Rohde in 1891 founded the association *Den Frie Udstilling* for the organisation of non-academic exhibitions,

Rohde near Gauguin painting. Photo: Wildenstein Institute Archives.



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such as the one in 1893, which included many works by Gauguin and Van Gogh. The catalogue of the 1984 exhibition points that, as Rohde was the centre of an important circle of modern artists, this painting must have influenced many Nordic artists. A photo showing the painting hanging in Rohde's bedroom is reproduced on page 22 of that catalogue.
Asa Rohde, Copenhagen, c. 1948.
Sale [Rohde], London, Sotheby's, 6 July 1960, no. 162.
John T. Dorrance, Jr., Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), c. 1968.
The Estate of John T. Dorrance, Jr., sale, New York, Sotheby's, 18-19 October 1989, no. 14.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 8 November 1995, no. 30.
Sale, New York, Sotheby's, 11 November 1999, no. 118.

235
Rocky Coast

Canvas. 0.71 × 0.92
Signed and dated lower right:
P Gauguin 86
W205

Andersen thinks that this bay might be Porsac'h cove (the site of *Cow on the Porsac'h Cliffs, 310*), a kilometre and a half from the Bellangenet beach of *234* and still further to the west of Le Pouldu[1].

[1] Andersen, 1970 (**D**).

Documents and bibliography:

This might possibly be the work cited in a receipt signed by Gauguin: 'Received from Monsieur Manzi, the sum of three hundred francs for a painting "Seascape"/ Paris 4 January 1888' (Merlhès: *Lettres retrouvées*, 1989, p. 57, below), though 'Seascape' might equally refer to *236*. The receipt is in the hand of Theo Van Gogh; Manzi, who also worked with Boussod et Valadon, may have asked him to draw it up. It is dated 4 January (which was a Wednesday) and may or may not match one of the purchases mentioned by Gauguin in a letter to Mette: 'Sunday someone from Goupil came round who was very enthusiastic about my pictures and finally bought three paintings for 900 f' (December 1887 or January 1888, Merlhès 138). For tentative identification of the other paintings mentioned in this letter, see *Beach, Dieppe (178)* and *Mangoes (250)*.

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(?) Gauguin's sketchbook, c. 1888-1890 (Huyghe, 1952), p. 223-225: '[sold to] Manzy* Seascape [FF] 300': again, this may refer to *236*.
(?) Gauguin to De Monfreid, May 1899 (Joly-Segalen LVI): 'Now I don't really know whether in a few years' time, when the *matière* has sufficiently hardened, when the oil has disappeared, whether you won't find a very rich *matière*, because I remember a few canvases, amongst others a seascape from Brittany painted as lightly as possible, which Van Gogh sold to Manzi. After a few years it was barely recognisable, and really rich in *matière*!' This again may refer to *236*.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 205 (repr.).
W. Andersen: 'Gauguin's Motifs from Le Pouldu', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, p. 620.
V. Merlhès: *Paul Gauguin et Vincent Van Gogh. 1887-1888. Lettres retrouvées. Sources ignorées*, 1989, (?) pp. 56-57, p. 57, note 1.

Exhibitions:
Gauguin and the Pont-Aven Group, London, Tate Gallery, 1966, no. 5.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1985, no. 28.

Provenance:
This may well be the seascape sold by Gauguin to Manzi. The transaction was registered in the form of a receipt on 4 January 1888 in which Theo Van Gogh perhaps played an intermediary role; see receipt and letters of late 1887/early 1888 and May 1899, **D** above). Michel Manzi (1849-1915) was of Neapolitan origin, but had been living in Paris since the 1870s. He started working for Goupil, Boussod et Valadon in 1881, where he was in charge of the reproduction studios, which involved first heliogravure, and later chromotypogravure or 'photo-aquatint', which he developed himself. In 1893, he went into partnership with Joyant, and they continued working on techniques of artistic reproduction together. Manzi was not only a technician and inventor of new processes, he also painted and drew himself, and wrote several books. Eloquent in defence of modern tendencies in painting, friendly with Degas and his entourage and later with Toulouse-Lautrec, he built up a substantial collection (he bought *Ia Orana Maria,* W428, in 1893) and was interested in Japanese art. His collection was broken up over the course of seven sales between 1919 and 1921. The seascape appears in none of them, and had perhaps been sold earlier. It is just possible that this seascape was *236*.
A Druet label (no. 4740) on the stretcher, if it indicates a stock number, may indicate that the work was acquired before 1907.
Bought from Druet in 1918 by:
Göteborg (Sweden), Göteborgs Konstmuseum – WL 19.

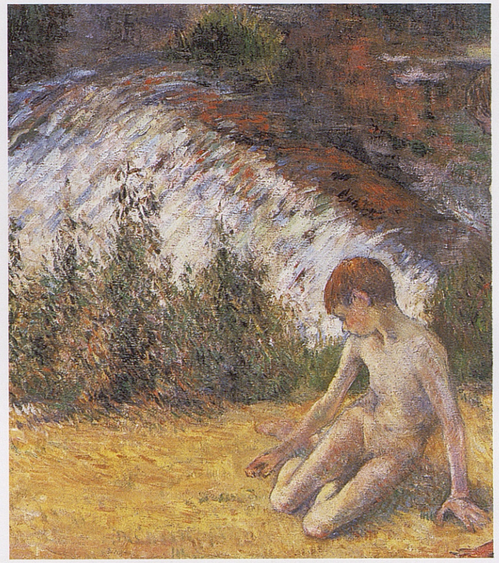
236
Rocks, Sea

Canvas. 0.710 × 0.915
Signed and dated lower left:
P Gauguin 86
W206bis

This seascape was presumably painted west of Le Pouldu like *235* and *234*; see these works.

Documents and bibliography:
If this is the seascape sold to Manzi in early 1888, see *235*, **D**.
Wildenstein, 1964, no. 206bis (repr.).
W. Andersen: 'Gauguin's Motifs from Le Pouldu', *The Burlington Magazine*, September 1970, p. 620.
V. Merlhès: *Paul Gauguin et Vincent Van Gogh. 1887-1888. Lettres retrouvées. Sources ignorées*, Taravao, 1989, p. 57, note 1.

Provenance:
(?) Could this be the seascape sold to Manzi in early 1888? See *235*, **P**.
Kojiro Matsukata, Japan.
Tejima, Japan.
Private collection, Tokyo, 1990.



The Moulin du Bois d'Amour Bathing Place (221), detail. ▶

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He began co-managing the Wildenstein Galleries in New York, London and Tokyo in 1939, and later assumed sole responsibility for them. He has also headed two art journals of international reputation: *Arts* (1956-1962) and, since 1963, the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*.

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